

THE  
TRAVELS  
OF  
*K*  
Edward Brown, Esq;  
Formerly a  
MERCHANT in LONDON.

CONTAINING

His OBSERVATIONS on *France* and *Italy* ;  
his Voyage to the *Levant* ; his Account  
of the *Island of Malta* ; his REMARKS  
in his Journies through the Lower and  
Upper *Egypt* ; together with a Brief  
DESCRIPTION of the *Abyssinian EMPIRE*.

Interspersed throughout

With several curious Historical PASSAGES re-  
lating to our own as well as Foreign Nations ;  
as also with Critical Disquisitions as to the  
present State of the Sciences in *Egypt*, parti-  
cularly PHYSICK and CHEMISTRY.

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In TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for THOMAS LONGMAN, CHARLES HITCH  
and LACY HAWES, in Pater-noster-row ; JOHN  
HINTON, in Newgate-street ; and JOHN and JAMES  
RIVINGTON, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCLIII.

I





## THE P R E F A C E.

**I**T is neither out of a Desire to prepossess the Reader in Favour of the following Sheets, nor yet meerly to comply with a Ceremony which Custom hath long confirm'd, a Point of good Breeding between an Author and his Readers, that I prefix a Preface to these Travels. Two Reasons determined me thereto; First, that the candid Peruser might receive all the Satisfaction in my Power, as to the Gentleman who wrote this Book; and Secondly, that I might clear myself from any Charge of Impertinence or want of Circumspection, in giving to the World the private Papers of a Person long since deceased, who as he chose to live unknown, might well be supposed to have wished after Death, that he might be forgotten.

THE first Scenes of this Gentleman's Life are so accurately described by his own Pen, that it would be not only needless, but impertinent in me to say any thing of them here.

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here. After his Return to England he settled as a Merchant, not so much with a View to Profit, as to keep his Thoughts employ'd, being equally an Enemy to, and incapable of bearing Idleness. His great Abilities and his Experience, drawn both from Reading and Travel, gained him not only the Acquaintance, but an Intimacy with several Persons of Distinction, which he the more easily maintained, because his own Circumstances were easy, and so he had no Occasion, as in himself he had no Will, to trouble them for Favours. Besides these Friends at Home, our Author kept up a constant and general Correspondence with Persons of Learning, as well as Business, Abroad, of which he preserved an exact Journal, and caused all their Letters to be fair copied. This Manner of employing his Time the Reader will perceive he took up early, and he continued it (as I believe most Men do whatever pleases them in their Youth) the best Part of his Life. His Writings were therefore always held valuable by his Relations, to whom I am indebted for the Acces I have had to them, and would willingly make them more ample Acknowledgments, if I were not restrained by their express Commands. The Leave they have given me to transcribe his Memoirs, being founded only in a generous Dis-

fire of rendering Service to the Publick, and not out of any Vanity whatsoever.

WHEN Mr. Brown grew pretty far in Years, he retired into the Country for his Health, and lived some where in the Vicinity of Buxton-Wells, whence many of his last Letters were dated, and where it appears that he reviewed all his Papers. He came afterwards up to London on some particular Business, and being surprized by a Pluretick Fever, died in the Winter of 1704. He left a considerable Sum of Money behind him to some distant Relations of his own, and his Wife's, having had no Children. He was always esteemed a Man of great Modesty in his Disposition, extremely moderate in his Sentiments, a Friend to Learning, without affecting to be learned, sincerely pious, - without any Tincture of Bigotry, and so little inclined to Party, that I am not able to learn to which Side he leaned, even in those Times when almost every Man ranged himself with the Whigs, or with the Tories.

AS to the Publication of these Travels, it will appear from the first Pages of them, that the Author had it not absolutely in View to binder their seeing the Light. On the contrary, he either had some Thoughts of publishing them himself, tho' perhaps in

another Dress, or be had Foresight enough to apprehend that they would one Day find a Reader, who would think it unjust to delight himself with the Perusal of them, without desiring to communicate that Delight to his Countrymen. It is plain therefore, that in committing these Sheets to the Press, I have not violated the Will of the Dead. As to the Merit of the Work itself, I apprehend it will speak for itself. It is full of very entertaining Relations, curious Researches into History, as well private as publick, and abounds with Discoveries in those Places where they are least expected. As to the Language it is very natural and intelligible, tho' altogether artless and unaffected. Mr. Brown meant to draw the Pictures of himself and of other Men, as like as he could, and not with those fine Strokes and agreeable Touches which delight us so much in French Memoirs, and in Courtly Panegyrics.

THE several Passages in this Book relating to English Affairs, may not only be depended on as Facts, but, with respect to their Circumstances also, may be safely regarded as impartial Narrations, falling from the Pen of a Man altogether void of Party. The Author, as he left his Country young, and without having addicted himself

himself to any Faction, so from those with whom he conversed abroad, it is very evident he acquired full Satisfaction, that the Bigots of all Parties were either Slaves to their Passions or their Interests; and therefore as Men visibly misled, were least of all fit to lead others. Hence without doubt it came to pass, that he contracted that Coolness and Moderation which distinguishes all his Accounts of Things, from those we have already had, and sets them in such a Light, as leaves the Reader no just ground to doubt, that it is the true one.

ALL the concise Memoirs of Persons of Distinction which are inserted in his Work, are penn'd with much Impartiality, and exhibit nothing to the Reader's View, but what tends to his Information and Instruction. They are not indeed very regular, or conformable to those Rules which of late Years have been established in Biography, but they are pleasant and natural; they come in pertinently, are told with Spirit, and are generally concluded with useful Reflections. This was a fashionable Method of writing in the last Age, and a Method which needs no Excuse to be made for it in this, wherein, if we have learned to compose with greater

Accuracy and Neatness, we have perhaps lost something of that masculine Vigour which is discernable in the Characters drawn by former Writers. While I am on this Subject, I cannot forbear observing, that the Account he has given us of the Italian Duke of Northumberland, is alone sufficient to make the Book valuable. I remember that in the Year 1718, when it was said that an unfortunate Italian Marquis was lineally descended from that famous Duke who made such a Figure in the Courts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and from the no less famous Earl of Leicester, the first of Queen Elizabeth's Favourites ; I say, I remember when this was talked of, it was looked on as a Fable, and many believ'd it a Story invented to do Honour to a certain Family. From this Author it appears not only that the Fact was true, but there are also a multitude of other Facts assembled, relating to the same Family, which I believe are not to be met with any where else. The collecting all these scatter'd Memoirs, was certainly an Act of virtuous Compassion, since the House of Dudley was then in no Condition to repay him, or any other Man, for Civilities of this sort ; neither does it appear, that he compiled this Account with

with any other View than to satisfy his intimate Friends as to the State of this once illustrious Family, and to wipe away that Aspersion which the Ignorant had thrown on the Unhappy, by intimating that these Dukes were of their own making.

THE Descriptions he has given us of France, Italy, Malta, Egypt, &c. are such as shew that the Genius and Disposition of the People made as strong an Impression on him, as the natural or artificial Wonders of their respective Countries. He is equally an Admirer of Men and Things, examines both candidly, and wherever he can be suspected of erring, it is on the right Side. He had it seems a great Delight in collecting scattered Pieces of History of all sorts, and was as well pleased to contemplate the Steadiness and solid Prudence of a Dutch Skipper, as the wonderful Variety of Adventures which have happened to Princes, Publick Ministers or Favourites, of which however we find Instances in his Writings. I know it may be objected, that we have already many particular Accounts of Egypt; but this has so little to do with the present Affair, that I am positive if we did not know from their Titles that the Accounts we already have, relate to the

## The PREFACE.

the same Country of which Mr. Brown speaks, we should scarce discern it from the Comparison of their Contents, as I could easily shew, if it were not for anticipating the Reader's Pleasure.

THE intelligent Reader may possibly wonder, after turning over these Sheets, that he finds in them no particular Account of the Antiquities in the Upper Egypt, which our Author had such an Opportunity of describing, and delivering his Opinion upon. To obviate this, I must inform him, that our Author wrote a distinct Treatise on this Subject, addressed to a Person of Distinction in France, and that after his Return into Europe, he illustrated it with very curious Notes, and many Quotations from the Ancients ; and that he disjoined it from his Travels, because its Length would too much have interrupted them, and on Account of its relating to a learned Subject, and was therefore intended to be made a Part of a Volume of Miscellanies, which he had actually made ready for the Press. So much of this Subject however as was necessary to explain the several Topics on which he treats in this Book, is interspersed in proper Places ; for tho' he made it his Practice to write distinct Treatises

Treatises on important Heads, yet he ver-  
ry seldom refers hither and thither, being  
such a Friend to Method, that he never  
thought any Time lost which was employ'd  
in making a Thing perspicuous. I have  
Reason to believe, that besides what will  
be found in this Book relating to the Art  
of Medicine as practised by the Egyptians,  
he wrote also a more large and distinct  
Treatise of Chyrurgical Operations, which  
in all Probability is lost; but there is  
still remaining among his Papers a sort of  
Egyptian Dispensatory, whether written  
by himself, or transcribed from the Works  
of any Author, I am not Judge enough of  
the Matter to determine. More I could  
say as to other Things of a like Nature,  
but as they have no very strict Connection  
with the Points I propose to explain in  
this Preface, I shall not swell it by expan-  
tiating on them here.

SUCH Pieces of Natural History as  
are here and there interspersed in this  
Work, as they come in pertinently, so they  
are penn'd with great Circumspection, our  
Author always affecting the middle Track,  
and being alike afraid of deviating into  
Credulity on the one hand, or into a super-  
ciliious Infidelity on the other. It does not  
appear

appear that he has relied much on Authority in what he delivers of this sort, and that whenever he does do so, he gives fair Warning to the Reader, to prevent the placing of other Men's Mistakes to his Account. A necessary Precaution this, since not only unlearned Travellers, but even Men of deep Reading, and tolerable Understanding, have erred grossly in this Particular; the former thinking they had travelled to no Purpose, if thereby they had not acquired a Licence to relate all they heard, as confidently as all they saw; the latter so intoxicated with the Love of the Ancients, that to support a Passage in Herodotus, to justify a Fact related by Diodorus, or to make good somewhat in Pliny's Natural History, take a great deal of unnecessary Pains, and not only give a wrong Bias to their Thoughts, but, which is still more extraordinary, to their Eye-Sight; so strongly are they possessed with a Desire of beholding Things not as they are, but as they were in the Times of those ancient Writers, or rather as they were represented to them, and on that Account by them to their Readers. But tho' our Author had read, and very much esteemed the Ancients, yet he did not idolize them,

for

for which he certainly deserves Commendation. I might say somewhat in favour of that Accuracy and Perspicuity with which all his Accounts of Natural Things are written ; but that I think would be prejudging the Reader, and might possibly prejudice the Author, rather than do him good ; I shall therefore pass this by, and proceed to another remarkable Head.

THE Passages relating to Chemistry, or rather to Alchimy in the following Book, deserve particular Notice. It was the darling Folly of the last Age, and of many Ages preceding it ; there was scarce a Monastery in England which had not its Chemist ; and in Germany the Humour was still stronger, insomuch that there were not only many Pretenders to the Philosopher's Stone, I mean Men who pretended to have the Possession of it, but they also devised so many Methods for securing their own Reputation, that there are very great Numbers, and those not unintelligent People, who still believe that the grand Secret was known to and practised by several of these German Monks. Every body knows, that this Enthusiastic Notion prevailed so strongly here, that it was found necessary to make a Law to prevent such pernicious Practices as Men were found to

to run into under Pretence of the Multiplication of Gold. In France, Spain and Italy, the same Notions turned the Heads of many ; and that they were not confined within the Bounds of Europe, the Reader will find abundant Proofs in the following Sheets. As to our Author himself, he appears in this Work to have been quite an Infidel with respect to the Doctrine of Transmutation ; for though on Account of certain Reasons which he mentions, he delivers his Sentiments cautiously, and in soft Terms, yet nothing can be more apparent, than that he look'd upon all the pompous Pretences of the Alchymist, either as unmeaning Rhapsodies, or downright Delusions. This he did not from any Prejudice, but from the Knowledge he had had both of the Theory and Practice of this Art, in Favour of which he has inserted a short Account of the Reasons why Transmutation may be accounted probable, which as some intelligent Persons have informed me, is an exceilent Piece. His want of Belief therefore proceeded from Defect in the Evidence, and from nothing else ; and consequently though the Friends of this Science may believe him in the wrong, yet they must impute the Error not to his Will, but to his Judgement.

ABOUT

ABOUT the Year 1692, he wrote a pretty large Treatise expressly on this Subject, at the Request, as it should seem, of some Person of very great Distinction, who had his Head turned this Way, and who was mightily pleased with our Author's Conversation on the Subject. In this Treatise he does not seem to have alter'd his Opinion, or at least very materially; for having first explained the Nature of Metals, and the Reasons for and against Transmutation, he then proceeds to a most copious History of all the Professors and reputed Professors of the Philosopher's Stone in all Ages, and in all Parts of the World, including an Account of the Rosicrucians, or illuminated Brethren. He likewise mentions, where they occur, the Objections which had been made to the Credibility of any of these Histories. This is the most finish'd Piece which remains in my Power, and as far as I am able to judge, is not the original Treatise, but a fair Copy from it, there being no Amendments or Interlineations, whence it is possible there may be other Copies of it. Our Author concludes nothing therein, he contents himself with stating the Facts and Reasons on both Sides, leaving the Judgment to the Person to whom the Treatise is addressed.

dressed. It is however my private Sentiment, that by this Time he inclined to believe that Transmutation was possible and practicable, but that there was little hopes of being able to render it profitable. I confess I have gone a little out of my Road, but the Sight of so curious a Building may possibly excuse me, and even oblige my Reader, especially since I have not detained him long ; but having just shewn him a Prospect of the Edifice, returned again into the beaten Track.

I have now discharged my Duty as an Editor ; and if the following Piece is so happy as to meet with a good Reception (as I doubt not it will) I shall consider it as an Obligation laid upon me, to publish the Treatises which made up the rest of the Volume I copied. At present they are Curiosities, and they will be always so, unless by this Means I should gain an Opportunity of making them of general Use. But this depends upon the Publick, and to the Publick I therefore leave it.

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TRAVELS  
OF  
*Edwd. Brown, &c.*

**W**HEN Men write the History of their own Lives, Vanity, whatever Colour may be pretended, is generally at the Bottom the real Motive. The Tenderness we have for ourselves, unsatisfied with extending as far as the Grave, often presses those who have the Capacity of Writing, to transfer it also to their Memory ; and like *Horace*, to erect Monuments to themselves beyond the reach of Rage or Time. Perhaps I

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may

may my self be governed by that foolish Self-fondness in what I am now writing, or at least it may pass for such, amongst critical Judges, if these Sheets should ever transgress the Boundaries of a Closet, and thrust themselves amongst the numerous Lives, Histories and Travels, which are daily sent from the Press, into the World.

BUT if I am in any Degree acquainted with the Secrets of my own Breast, this Work is composed from very different Inducements. The Heart of Man is hardly open to himself, and perhaps most People will find it as hard to account for the true Motives of their own Actions, as some Historians make it, to judge of those of Princes. My Custom throughout my Life has been, to preserve in a *Diary*, not only my Actions, and the Occurrences which have happened to me, but even the Thoughts and Reflections they occasioned, at the Time when they befell me. These Papers, which compose for the most Part the Bulk of my Library, through all my Travels, are now swollen to a large Compas; and as I am happily arrived at last at that Haven of Rest, which through so many Climates I have been pursuing, I judged it proper to put them

them in Order for my own Use; not I confess without some View to their advantaging Others, if the impartial and candid Picture I draw of human Nature be capable of doing Service. As it is, I shall leave it behind me, to perish or to be preserved, as the Order of Things shall happen, and without farther Preface, proceed to its Materials.

ON the 29th of *April, 1641*, the same Day the *House of Lords* voted the *Earl of Strafford* guilty of *High Treason*, I was born at a Village call'd *Cottenham*, in *Cambridgeshire*. My Father was a Gentleman of about 300 Pounds *per Ann.* some of which lay in the *Isle of Ely*, and the rest in *Lincolnshire*. As my Parents had no other Children but myself, they were exceedingly careful of my Education, and especially took care to instill in me while young, the Principles of the *Christian Religion*; but with Respect to particular Opinions, I was, by the Consent of them both, left at greater Liberty, because my Father was much in those Sentiments, called the Puritanical, and my Mother on the contrary, who was the Daughter of a *Knight*, whose Name was *Brown*, a great Admirer of *Archbishop Laud*.

My Father being himself well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, as having been for some Years bred up in the Family of the Lord *Leapington*, kept me under his own Tuition, 'till I was between twelve and thirteen Years old, when he sent me to *London* to Mr. *Wm. Taylor*, a Minister of great Learning, then much followed and admired. I came to Town the same Day that the famous *John Lilburn* was tried and acquitted: And though then a Boy, yet being never put out of the Room when my Tutor received Company, or left at Home when he went to make a Visit, I observed a great many Things which made Impressions so strong upon me, as were not for many Years after to be worn out. Being upwards of Seventeen at the Decease of the Protector *Oliver*, with whom my Father had stood in high Favour, and under whom he had held Offices of considerable Profit, I took Notice of the great Concern he expressed thereat, being sensible also that it much hastened his own yielding to Fate, which was in the *October* following of a hasty Consumption.

My Mother breathed her last about six Months before, and having no Rela-

tion of any Nearness left, except my Mother's Brother, who was a Trader of considerable Reputation at *Hull* in *Yorkshire*. Things too taking a surprizing Revolution, and making me, through the Share my Father had had in certain publick Transactions, obnoxious to the Persons then coming into Power, all together concurred first to throwing me into a deep Melancholy, and next bringing me into a settled Resolution of quitting my native Country, in hopes that Time and Travel might wear out most of those Grievances which then oppressed me. My Tutor, Mr. *Taylor*, who survived but a very little Space after, at first opposed my Design, but finding me fixed, gave me, in Writing, a most excellent set of Instructions for the Regulation of my future Conduct.

THIS Determination of mine to quit *England*, was about the latter End of the Year 1660 ; but Things being then in so much Confusion, that a Licence was necessary for every Person who would go out of the Kingdom, and there being some Difficulty for me to obtain one, I retir'd, 'till the Interest of my Friends could procure it, to a Gentleman's House near

*Spalding*, in *Lincolnshire*, to which I was recommended by my good Friend and Tutor *Mr Taylor*.

THE Gentleman himself was a Man of the most agreeable Disposition, had all the Experience of a Life of threescore Years, without the least Taint of those troublesome Humours which generally attend old Age. His Family consisted of two Daughters, who lived at Home with him ; his only Son, after having been under the Tuition of *Mr. Taylor*, studying then at the University of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, whither his Father had sent him to preserve the Purity of his Morals. When I first came down to his Seat, I promised myself much Satisfaction, as well from the Temper of the old Man himself, as from the modest and sweet Behaviour of the Daughters. But as all Things here are uncertain, and nothing more so than the Conjectures of human Understanding, so the Accidents which befell me here, added, to the general Disgust I had taken, a particular Source of Uneasiness, which necessarily required the Cure of Absence.

THE Seat wherein we dwelt, was one of the old-fashioned Structures, which appeared

peared to be built without any other Rule, than the Inclination of its Founder. It had abundance of good Rooms, large Closets, several Galleries, and three or four different Gardens round it, as irregularly laid out as the House was built. In its Front there was a *Rookery*, and another very large one behind it beyond the Gardens, near which were several Fish-Ponds, and on one Side of them a Warren, and on the other a thick Grove. All together it was confused, and yet agreeable; its Apartments not magnificent, but convenient; and the rural Ornaments about it, though rude in their Disposition, did not want their Beauties.

THE melancholy Temper which at that Time I was in, and to which I have always had a natural Tendency, inclined me perhaps to like this Place better than I should have done the neatest and most regular Building. There was, about half a quarter of a Mile from the House, a long, strait, Walk of Trees, which terminated at the Church-yard; hither I used frequently to resort, and either divert myself with some Book or other, or else entertained my Thoughts in the undisturbed Solitude of that Retirement.

About three Weeks after my coming into the Country, when that civil strangeness which is paid to a New-Comer was pretty well worn off, and the Family treated me with almost the same Intimacy they did each other, I began to perceive that Mrs. Lucy, the old Gentleman's younger Daughter, behaved towards me with a peculiar Air. Abundance of Circumstances forced me to take Notice of it, as well as confirmed me in my Conjecture, and a short interval of Time very fully revealed it.

AFTER Dinner one Day, while the old Gentleman went to his Nap, I had taken in my Pocket, *Barclay's Euphormion*, and stroled down the solitary Walk before mention'd. As I was amusing myself there with the Author I spoke of, I perceived the young Lady sitting on a little Bench, which was under three old spreading Trees, on a rising Ground, about a Stone's cast from the Path in which I was. Immediately, and almost without knowing what I did, I went up to her, and with an Air of Freedom, which I very rarely assumed, took out of her Hand a Book which she was reading: She parted with very readily, though she would never receive

receive it afterwards, and it proved to be the Poems of *Michael Drayton*, in which she was reading the Letter of King *John* to *Matilda*. This Interview, notwithstanding its Suddenness, seemed not to have occasioned much Surprize on either Side ; the Lady managed her Share of Conversation so agreeably, that though my Bosom neither before nor since for any other Woman, ever felt any Emotions of an amorous Kind, yet I retired, after walking with her about two Hours, with a Heart full of Love.

THE elder Sister, whose Name was *Martha*, and who was about 22 Years of Age, was a young Woman of an open, merry, and generous Disposition, one who was always doing something which might delight or do good to others. This Sister *Lucy*, who was about four Years younger, seemed to be of a more reserved Temper, she spoke very little, but when she did, it was with a Sweetness which I at least never observed in any other Woman ; she affected to read much, was often in her Closet, and though her Behaviour in Company was always easy, yet something in her Countenance plainly shewed she was better pleased when alone.

THE old Gentleman, when I had been about *six Weeks* in his House, informed me with great Joy, that his Son was safely arrived at *York*, and that the *Thursday* following he expected him Home. He is (said the good old Man) about three Years older than you, and as I see there is a great Likeness in your Tempers, I promise myself much Satisfaction from that Friendship which I shall recommend to you both. As you think it will be improper to make much stir about your Licence 'till the beginning of the Spring, I hope we shall all be happy together 'till that Time. I am desirous that my Son *Philip* should also see the World; and if it be convenient to you, would have him be the Companion of your Travels. I expressed the greatest Respect and Satisfaction at what the old Gentleman had been pleased to say, and assured him that nothing could give me greater Pleasure, than the being able to do any thing which might be acceptable to him or his Family.

THINGS stood thus when the young Gentleman arrived; he appeared to have made the best use of his Time and of his Studies, having acquired all the Advantages that could be drawn from an *Academical*

mical Education, without receiving from it the least Stain of Pedantry, or seeming to have leaned in any Degree to the other Extream in order to avoid it. His own Virtues were sufficient to have recommended him to my Esteem and Friendship, had he not had an additional Title of being Son to a Father, to whom I stood so much obliged. *Lucia's* Amour and mine was now so far advanced, that I was in some doubt, whether to propose a Marriage between us, before, or after my Return with her Brother from our Travels. For Love had so far altered my Intentions, that I, who before had resolved never to return Home after I had once left the *English* Shore, now with reluctance suffered the very Thought of my Departure to enter my Mind.

DURING this Space, I received by a special Messenger an Account from *London*, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, instead of yielding to my Friends request for a *Licence* for me to depart the Kingdom, had declared that the Government stood in great need of certain Papers which were in the Hands of my Father at the Time of his Decease, and for which he was resolv-ed to question me, where ever I could be found.

found. This News augmented that Embarrassment which from a Multitude of concurring unlucky Circumstances I was at that Time in ; and of all, none perplexed me so much as this Affair of Love.

*LUCIA*, I observed, from the Time of her Brother's Return, was exceedingly careful of speaking to me in his Presence. I saw her however almost every Night when the Moon shone, at our Walk by the *Church-Yard*, and when the Nights were dark sometimes in the Hall, near to which there were back Stairs that came both from her's and also my Apartment. The Lady did not indeed press me directly upon the Score of Matrimony, but I fancied at least that I saw in her a secret Uneasiness which I judg'd must arise from that Cause. My Principles sufficiently restrained me from attempting any thing beyond the Bounds of Decency and Honour ; and the Lady's Behaviour was always such as gave me not the least Suspicion of their not having been treated with a just Indignation if I had. However, there had so much passed between us, that I could not myself but think it reasonable, that some way or other should be proposed to put an End to this

this Affair ; and the Consideration of this way almost continually took up my Thoughts ; for on the one hand, I could not bear to part entirely from *Lucia*, and on the other hand, Matrimony was a Thing very inconvenient for me at this Time.

My Intimacy with her Brother encreasing daily, and the Likeness of our Manners seeming to have created a very strong Affection, I resolved to make him my Confident in this Affair, in which my Passion had engaged me against the Dictates of my Reason. I propos'd to myself both to ask him his sincere Advice as a Friend, and at the same time to engage his Interest as a Brother in speaking to his Father. Accordingly one Morning as he came into my Chamber while I was reading, I begged him to sit down and permit me to inform him of an Affair in which he himself was concerned, and on which my Quiet very strongly depended. The young Gentleman seemed very much surprized, and replied, that there could be nothing which affected my Peace in which he was not interested, begging me to go on, and depend on this, that nothing I could ask of him should be omitted.

WHEN

WHEN in as few Words as I was able, I had acquainted him with the Sources of my Uneasiness, I perceived the Story affected him with almost as much Concern as it did me ; I imputed it wholly to the Sincerity of his Friendship, and expected with Impatience what Expedient he would propose. As soon as he had recovered himself from that Surprize into which the Story that I had told him had put him; My Friend (said the young Man at last) there could not possibly have happened a Thing in which I would more studiously have avoided giving my Advice, than where a Person, for whom I have so deep an Affection as for you, should have indulged himself in an amorous Inclination ; I know very well, though I cannot say by Experience, how little regard is had to Reason, by him who hath once suffered his Breast to be taken up by that ensnaring Passion ; but when to these Difficulties there is added, the near Relation I have to the Lady with whom you are in Love, I see myself surrounded with so many Difficulties, that nothing but the Friendship I have for you, should engage me to speak a Syllable more on this Head. As it therefore so nearly concerns you, I will comply entirely with your

- your Request, and without any Regard to Family, or that Affection we naturally have for so near Relations, give you my sincere Sentiments on the Subject as you have proposed it.

I thanked him for so extraordinary a Proof of his Esteem, and begged he would go on : He hesitated a little, and then said, I am persuaded (my Friend) you will not insist on my descending to Particulars, when out of regard to your Peace, I tell you that you would do well to banish from this Hour all Thoughts of my Sister. I know her, Sir, and her Disposition, it would make you uneasy in Marriage. I am convinced you have more good Sense than to ask me more Questions, and I expect it from our Friendship that you ask them no where else. As soon as he had said this, he went out of the Room, and left me more disquieted and more confounded than since that Time I ever was from all the Accidents that have befallen me in Life. That Evening being to meet *Lucia* in the Church-yard Walk, I had a thousand Thoughts crowded into my Head, which occasioned as many different Resolutions of going, and not going, as Love or

or Reason, or rather Suspicion, prevailed.

AT last, when the Hour of Appointment drew nigh, I went without determining with myself whether or no I should mention to her any thing that had passed between me and her Brother. I walked to and fro a long Time, so much taken up with the hurry of my Cogitations, that the Moon declined almost before I perceived it, and being disappointed in my designed Interview, I had much ado to blunder Home in the Dark. As soon as I entered my Chamber, looking on my Watch, I found it was Four o'Clock in the Morning ; I did not go to Bed, but passed the Remainder of the Time 'till the Family were up, in a Multitude of uneasy Reflections.

THE next Day at Dinner, *Lucia* was missing, upon which I could not forbear asking her Father whither she was gone ; the old Gentleman said, he had a younger Sister dangerously ill at *London*, and that he thought it proper that her Niece should be near her in case of Death. I looked very steadily on her Brother, when his Father was making me this Answer, and observed that he heard the Discourse with

a great deal of Pain. After Dinner we walked a good while in the Garden, where the young Gentleman repeated the same Story his Father had told me, but without taking the least Notice of that Uneasiness, which he might naturally suppose her abrupt Departure might give me. As soon as conveniently I could, I disengaged myself from his Conversation, and retiring to my own Chamber, began to think more coolly of what had hitherto passed.

My Temper, which at that Time was very unpractised in bearing Uneasiness, made me incapable of hiding it; to prevent therefore any Notice being taken of my Disorder, I declined going down to Supper, under pretence of my having a Fit of the Gravel: I pretended to be worse toward Night, that I might not be plagued with Company; and indeed it succeeded so well, that I had all the Evening to myself, which I spent in very serious Consultation. The Result of which was, that in order to make myself easie, I would quit the House. About six the next Morning, I ordered my Servant to get the Horses ready, and set out for my Uncle's House at *Hull*; leaving a Letter with the old Gentleman's Groom for his Master,

Master, in which I informed him, that my Affairs had taken a very ill turn at *London*, and that I found it necessary to retire farther *North*, in order the better to conceal myself. I knew very well that *Lucia* was sent away on my Account, and as they had not thought fit to acquaint me with the Reasons of her Journey, I did not think myself obliged to be very particular, as to the Motives of mine.

I travelled with great Speed, 'till I arrived at my Uncle's House, where, without suffering the late Accident which had happened to me to make too great an Impression upon my Mind, I began to settle my Affairs in earnest for my Journey, in which the Assistance of my Uncle forwarded me a great deal. I soon converted my Estate, which my Father before his Death had disposed of to this Uncle in trust for me, into ready Money, which with what my Father had left me in Cash, amounted to about seven thousand Pounds, besides some Jewels of considerable Value, which I always reserved and carried privately about me.

THE only Thing that remained was, to consult my Uncle as to the Method I should take, of getting out of the King-  
dom

dom safely, and the Route I was to follow after my landing in *France*, through which Kingdom it was agreed I should travel. My Uncle advised me to assume my Mother's Name of *Brown*, and having bought an old Chariot privately, we had it with like Secrecy painted in a spare Warehouse, and my Mother's Arms blazoned thereon. This effectually answered our Design, for the Officers at the Port took the Chariot to belong to some of the *Mountacute* Family, and suffered me to go on board the Vessel I had hired to transport me, with hardly a Question asked, or examining any Part of my Baggage. I carried over with me a Servant whose Name was *Johnson*, and another Person very skilful in the *French* Language and the Manners of that Nation, all whose Expences I had agreed to furnish to *Paris*, whither he was going to some Relations.

THIS Person I mentioned last, I found to be a Man very well versed, not only in the *French*, but in the *Italian* and *Spanish* Tongues, having passed almost ten Years, as he told me, in travelling through most Parts of *Europe*. I had the Curiosity, both to inform myself, and to divert

vert the Passage, to enquire somewhat more particularly into his Adventures than otherwise I should have done. The Man, who had already been very much obliged to me, and who was to depend on me at least as far as *Paris*, made no great Scruple of talking very freely of the Reasons which engaged him to pass through so many Places heretofore, and which had now driven him, though much unprovided, upon travelling again.

He said that his Father being a Tenant under the Marquess of *Newcastle*, he himself, while a Boy, was taken into the Service of that noble Lord; that he was in his Family when he became General in the *North* for the King against the *Parliament* Forces; that he served him, and under him his Majesty, with the utmost Fidelity, 'till every thing was lost, and the Royal Party quite vanquished, when he was under a Necessity of submitting on the best Terms he could to those then in Power. Having been raised to a Lieutenant of Horse, under the aforementioned Marquess of *Newcastle*, and having been much entrusted in Expresses, and private Messages to and from the King at *Oxford*, and on his Affairs also

in

in *France* and *Holland*; one of his Relations mentioned him to *Thurloe*, the Protector's Secretary, as a Man who might be of Use, if he could be brought over.

He was then at *London*, and his Friend having obtained Leave, spoke to him of the Affair. At first, his old Principles of Loyalty made him absolutely refuse having any thing to do with the Secretary or his Master; but after some Time, his Friend's Persuasions, and much more his own Necessities, forced him to think better of it, and to consent to making a Visit to *Thurloe*, in order to hear his Propositions. His Friend was very well pleased at this, knowing that nothing could be more acceptable to *Oliver*, than the gaining such Persons to his Party. He signified it therefore immediately to the Secretary, and begged he might have a Day appointed him to bring his Friend.

*THURLOE* ordered that he should come the next Evening, when having conversed with the *Lieutenant* about an Hour, he desired him to retire into an Anti-Chamber, and in about half an Hour after the Secretary returned and introduced him to the *Protector*, who sat in a little Room behind that in which they had been

been first entertained, where he could hear every Word that passed. The Man, who appeared to me upon other Occasions to have wanted no Courage, acknowledged that he had never in his Life felt so great an Emotion of his Spirits, as at this Interview. The *Protector* perceived it, and bid him sit down and compose himself, that he might be assured nothing should hurt him as to what had passed, and that he had something to propose to him, which might make him very easy for the future. The *Lieutenant* at this began to take Heart, and when he had recollect ed himself a little, after thanking his Highness for that Favour, assured him that he would serve him as faithfully in whatsoever he entrusted him, as ever he had done his Royal Master. *Oliver* smiled at that Expression, and said, he knew his Principles too well to put him upon any thing that had any Relation to the Affairs of *Charles Steward*. For (added *Cromwell*) I have small Regard for any new Servant who would recommend himself to me, by betraying the Secrets of him whom he had pretended to serve from a Principle of Religion and Duty. I will pay you very well, for whatever I employ you in,

and

and expect nothing more from you than Secrecy and Resolution. I am going to Council upon a Matter which will keep me late, but *Thurloe* will acquaint you with what I expect of you.

AFTER the *Protector* was gone, the Secretary paid him *one hundred* Pounds before he spoke a Word to him of the Business, and then giving him two Letters of Credit, each to the Extent of *five hundred* Pounds, one on a *Swiss* Banker at *Paris*, and the other on a *Merchant* at *Marseilles*; he then gave him his Instructions in very few Words, which were, that he should travel from *Calais*, through the Heart of *France*, to *Marseilles*, according to a Route which should be delivered unto him by the Banker on whom he had his Credit at *Paris*. He was commanded to observe very diligently the State of that Kingdom in every Respect, which he was ordered to put into Writing, and to digest in the best Method he could; it was more particularly recommended to him to have a strict Eye to the Condition of the *Huguenots* in that Kingdom; to discover, as well as he was able, the general Characters of the Persons then of greatest Rank in *France*; and he was finally enjoined to

pay

pay a strict Obedience to whatever Order he received, sealed with a particular Seal which was shewn him, and a fair Impression thereof in Wax, put up in a little Case like a Medal delivered to him.

Thus furnished, he set out in consequence of the Orders he had received, and performed his Commission with so great Exactness, that at *Marseilles* he received new Letters of Credit, and fresh Commands to pass with the utmost Privacy through *Spain*; when he had so done, to embark for *Leghorn*, and after visiting such and such States of *Italy*, to return by the Way of *Switzerland*, *Burgundy* and *Lorrain*, into the *United Provinces*, and so Home. He performed this Journey so as to return into *England* the very Year that *Oliver* died, and about two Months after it. By this he lost that Reward he might reasonably have expected, for the great Services he performed and Intelligence he gave; some Instances of which I shall have Occasion hereafter to mention.

THIS Disappointment was the Cause of his falling into low Circumstances, and at the strange Change in the Year 1660, great Endeavours being used to take him,

him, on a false Accusation of his having been a Spy on the Court of King *Charles the Second*, in his Exile, he privately fled into *Yorkshire*, and lived there in a very low State, 'till he happened to be recommended by a near Relation of his to my Uncle, who sent him with me in order to his getting to *Paris*, where he had an Uncle in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, by whose Interest he was in hopes of getting something, which might gain him Bread.

FINDING by this Relation, that Mr. *Fetherstone* was in much the same Condition with myself, I advised with him as to the properest Place for landing in *France*; we agreed at last that it should be at *Diepe*, and I gave the Master Instructions accordingly, who promised to comply with them, and to recommend us at our Arrival in Port, to a Person of his Acquaintance, at whose House we might be well accommodated so long as we should incline to stay there. This was very acceptable to a young Traveller, whose Apprehensions had driven him from Home, and who had as yet settled no

Resolution as to his Conduct abroad. In seven Days we arrived at *Diepe*, and were carried by the Master to the House of one Mr. *Villeneufe*, who had been formerly Master of a Vessel, trading to *England*; but growing in Years, and having acquired a Sufficiency, chose to pass the remnant of his Life in quiet. He was a little Man, well made, and though near *threescore*, very lively and full of Spirit. He received us very kindly, and treated us with as much familiarity, as if he had been as long acquainted with us as the Master of the Vessel, who recommended us. The latter, who was to remain at *Diepe* 'till he could take in a Freight on my Relation's Account, lodged with Mr. *Featherstone* and myself, at this Gentleman's House, which was of great Service to me. The very Day after my Arrival, I took care to be provided with a *French* Master, who proved a very sensible Man, and taught me to distinguish between the true *French*, and the *Dialect* of *Normandy*, as well in regard to the turn of Expression, as to the Words and Pronunciation peculiar to the Inhabitants of this Province.

I soon found that Mr. Fetherstone, though he often talk'd of it, was in no great hurry to go to *Paris*, and I readily guessed the Reason, which was his fear of not meeting there with a supply of Money. When I had considered this Matter attentively, I began to look upon it as a very great good Fortune to myself. Never were two Travellers better suited ; he had Years, Experience, and Integrity ; I had just Sense enough to discover my own Wants, and to know that as Things stood, I should be more benefited by his Instructions, than he could be by any Services I could do him. The former were Treasures whence I drew great Advantages during my whole Life; the latter, temporary Things, no way answerable to his Merit. The first thing I did, was to remove all scruples between us. I informed him thoroughly of my Condition, and having received Fifty Pistoles on a Letter of Credit, I made him a present of Twenty, intreating him to give me his Advice freely, as to my Conduct, and the necessary means to make my Residence easy in *France*, 'till either Necessity or Choice induced me to remove.

He told me that he well acquainted with a Gentleman at Roan, a Man of great Honour, and very extensive Knowledge ; one who had formerly made a great Figure in the World, but had for many Years lived in privacy, on account of his having incur'd the displeasure of *Cardinal Richelieu*. To this Gentleman, he assured me, he would recommend me in the strongest Terms, adding, that after a Residence of *five* or *six* Months under such a Tutor, I should have Knowledge enough of the *French* Language and Nation to regulate my future Behaviour without farther help. This Point once resolved on, I addressed myself to the Provision of our Master's Freight, according to the Instructions given me by my Relation, and while this was doing, diverted myself very agreeably with Mr. *Villeneufe* and the rest of my Friends, not caring as yet to mix much with Strangers.

ONE of the first Discoveries I made was, that our *Protector* had rendered himself strangely formidable in *France*; they believed in this Country, that he could draw together *forty* or *fifty* thousand Men when he pleased; they thought him

him wife enough to foresee all things, and bold enough to undertake any thing. This was chiefly owing to the great Deference paid him by the *Cardinal Mazarin*, of whom it was commonly said, that he did not fear the *Devil* so much as *Oliver Cromwell*. As far as I could afterwards learn, he feared both of them enough, and suffered his Fears to have a strong influence on his Actions. It happened that as we were conversing one Evening on the Subject of *Oliver's* Power and Grandeur, Mr. *Villeneufe* asked me if I knew what became of the young *Lady* who attempted to assassinate the *Protector*. I told him very freely that I had never heard of any such thing; but that living as I did, at a great Distance from *London*, it might for all that have happened, and therefore I desired he would tell me what he had heard of it, which he readily did. The Sum of his Relation was this.

THE famous Duke of *Buckingham*, who was assassinated at *Portsmouth*, left behind him two Sons. *George* who succeeded him in his Honour, and the Lord *Francis Villiers*, who was kill'd at *St. Neots* in *Huntingdonshire*, by *Cromwell* himself.

himself. This young Nobleman was passionately fond of Mrs. *Letitia Green-ville*, who was as much in Love with him. From the Day of his Death, she conceived in her Mind a strong Resolution to revenge it. In order to this she procured a Picture of General *Crom-well*, which she set up in a Barn adjoining to her Father's House, whither she went frequently to fire at it with a Pistol, 'till by Degrees she had attained a Facility in hitting it, which she judg'd sufficient for her purpose. Coming up to *London*, with her Father, Mother, and other Relations, she for some time watched an Opportunity to perpetrate the Murder she had premeditated. At length, in the Year 1654, an Occasion offered: The *Protector* was invited to Dinner in the *City*, and was to pass in Pomp by the House in which herself and the Family lodged. Mrs. *Greenville* dress'd herself with all imaginable Care, a thing she had never done since the Death of her Lover, and having placed herself in the Balcony, fired at the *Protector* as he passed, and lodged a brace of Balls in the Shoulder of his Son *Henry's* Horse, who rode next

next him. This put a Stop to the Procession; the *Ladies* in the Balcony threw themselves on their Knees, while Mrs. *Greenville* extending the Pistol, cried out, that it was she who fired it, and that she was sorry she had not kill'd the *Tyrant*. The *Protector* desired the Company to go on, saying the Woman was mad, leaving Colonel *Holmes* and a small Party of the *Guards* to protect the House, and to secure her Person. When the *Colonel* came to execute his Commission, the Parents of the young Lady assured him she had been melancholy for some Years, and that she was certainly *out of her Senses*; upon which the Colonel withdrew to carry this News to the *Protector*: When *Cromwell* was acquainted therewith, he ordered the Guard to be withdrawn; but the next Day sent Orders to the Lady's Father to take Care to confine his Daughter, that she might not attempt any thing of the like Nature against another. After this, Mrs. *Greenville* was never heard of, and the Enemys of *Cromwell* say, he caused her to be *poisoned*.

WHEN Mr. *Fetherstone* and I were alone, I asked him if he had ever heard

any thing of the Story before. He answered in the *Negative*, and assured me it was a pure Fiction. Lord *Francis Villiers*, said he, was kill'd the same Year the King was murder'd. He was a very handsome Gentleman, and very amorous. I have heard it said, that when the Soldiers strip'd him, they found a Lock of a Lady's Hair fastened to a Ribbon which hung upon his Breast under his Shirt. But this Lady's Name was Mrs. *Kirk*. Besides, he was neither kill'd by *Cromwell*, not at *St. Neots*. His Party was routed on *Banstead Downs*, by Sir *Michael Livesay*, whose Soldiers killed Lord *Francis* because he obstinately refused Quarter. I was mightily surprized at this Tale, out of which our Land-lord would never be persuaded ; but before I left *France*, I heard so many of the same Sort, that I began to doubt almost every thing I heard. Hence I took a Resolution never to be over-confident as to the Circumstances of Facts happening out of the Sphere of my own Observation, which proved of great Use to me afterwards, by eradicating that Tenaciousness almost inherent to Youth, and

and by opening the Door to all Instructions that were offered me.

WHEN all Things were ready, and we expected every Day a fair Wind to carry the *Vessel*, we came in, back to *England*, the *Master* fell sick of a kind of malignant Fever, which detained him and us three Weeks at *Diepe* longer than we designed. During his Illness, he was attended by an *Irish* Physician, and a *Scotch* Minister. The former was of the *Romish* Persuasion, but a Man of good Sense and great Moderation, who had quitted his Country a little after the breaking out of the Rebellion. He complained heavily of the Administration of publick Affairs in that Island. He said, that the *English* Governors were too ready to drive the Natives to Extremities, that they might enrich themselves and their Dependents by Forfeitures. He spoke with great abhorrence of the *Massacre*, but alledged, that the Punishment thereof fell heaviest upon those who had nothing to do with it. That at first, no Distinction was made between the Rebels and the well-affected of the Catholicks; but that on the contrary, all the Papists in

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general were treated as Persons proscribed, which compelled Numbers to take Arms in their own Defence, who otherwise abhorred Rebellion. That by degrees the King and his Ministers were persuaded of this, which induced them to enter into a Correspondence with the loyal *Catholicks*, and this gave a Handle to the Earl of *Holland*, when he deserted the King, and returned to the Parliament, to report that the Rebels in *Ireland* were countenanced by the King. He spake with mighty Concern of the Misery of his Country, which in the Space of *thirty Years*, he affirmed had lost a third Part of its Inhabitants, and described, whenever our Discourses led him to it, the sad Condition of the native *Irish* in very moving Terms.

THE *Scotchman* was descended of a *Popish* Family, and had been sent while a Youth to *Paris*, for Education. The Murder of *Henry IV.* and the Books published on that Occasion, gave him a high Disgust of the *Religion* he had been bred in, and a most bitter Aversion to the *Jesuits*. He was in other respects, a humane and pious Man; he recommended to the sick Person solid and rational Penitence,

Pénitence, and advised him to be rather afraid of continuing in a sinful World, than of Death. He told him, that to a Man who firmly believ'd the fundamental Doctrines of the *Christian Faith*, the latter could not be very terrible ; and he said, that it was a strong Testimony of the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, that it disarmed Death of its Sting, and taught a rational Creature to expect Dissolution without Horror. By the Care of these Men, our Master and ourselves were much better'd, and as soon as he recovered, he embarked, and with a fair Wind sailed for the Port of *London*, where he arrived in *three Days* ; and on Advice thereof, we immediately prepared for our Journey to *Roan*.

*DIEPE*, one the safest Ports in *Normandy*, is seated on an Arm of the Sea, between *two Hills*, which by their shooting into the Sea, form a *Bay*; the entrance of the Haven is narrow, but once entered is very commodious. The Town itself is handsomely built, its Streets broad and well paved, the Houses fair but not high; it was at this Time well fortified, but hath been since much improved. It was the first Town which acknowledged the Authority

Authority of *Henry IV.* and in its Neighbourhood he first fought for his Crown, and that too not much for his Advantage. During the whole War, he was very careful of it, being the Port where the *English* Succours generally debarqued. There are in it a great Number of Ivory Turners, and the Inhabitants in general seem to be active and industrious, and one Thing is especially remarked for their Honour, that they have always produced from amongst them, the best Seamen in *France*. To say the Truth, they are, generally speaking, well qualified for maritime Employment, as they are more active, daring, and inquisitive than their Neighbours. In the Broils which happened in the last Reign, the *Duke of Longueville*, who declared *against* the *King*, or rather *for* his *Mother* against his *Minister*, fortified *Diepe*, and the Works he then cast up have been ever since maintain'd, and new ones added as Occasion offered.

THE first of *June* 1662, we set out for *Roan*, where we arrived next Day, having travelled *thirteen* Leagues, *nine* the first Day, and *four* the second. Mr. *Fetherstone* having by way of Pre-caution

caution written to his Friend M. *de St. Dennis*, he met us at *Tofes*, where we lay, with a Coach, in which we came safe to his House before Noon next Day. The Country through which we travelled was extremely pleasant, or at least it seem'd so to me. The Accommodations in the *Inn* were not such as could be boasted of; but the Complacency of the People, and the earnest Desire they shewed to oblige us, amply supply'd all Deficiencies, and left us no room to complain. As we travelled the last four Leagues, Mr. *Fetherstone* acquainted his Friend, that some Disappointments in my Expectations had engaged me to visit *France*, and that he had recommended me to him as to a Person who would be sure to prevent my repenting the beginning my Travels with the Sight of *Normandy*. Mr. *St. Dennis* said, it happened very luckily, for that a Friend who had lived with him for about *Seven Years* being lately dead, he had some Thoughts of leaving *Roan*, most of the Inhabitants being of so litigious a Temper, that he found it no easy Matter to live at quiet, though he used all the Precaution imaginable, and was

was content to suffer small Inconveniences, rather than attempt to remedy them by Law-Suits. He assured me that I should be as much at Home as if the House was my own, and that he would do all in his Power to make the Time of my stay agreeable to me. Mr. *Featherstone* said, that in less than a Month he should be obliged to go to *Paris*, and that it would give him the highest Satisfaction to see me so well settled. Thus by the Time we reached our Journey's End, all our Affairs were as well adjust-ed, as if we had lived together many Years; nor do I know that during my stay at *Roan*, there happened the slightest Cause of Dissatisfaction to any of us.

THE House of Mr. *de St. Dennis* stood near the City Wall. It was composed of a Body and two small Wings, the former had three, the latter, one Room each on a Floor; there was a Garden behind, which by the Gales from the River was render'd very cool and pleasant; at the Bottom of it there was a small Apartment, consisting of a kind of Hall, and two Closets, over which was a Library, twice as long as the lower Building, the Ends of it being support-ed

ed by Pillars, forming two little Porticoes, one on each Side of the Hall. In this Hall we used to sup of an Evening, during the Heat of the Summer, and to entertain ourselves with Discourses, either of a Serious or Comic Nature, as Occasion serv'd. Mr. *de St. Dennis* had an excellent Memory, a Blessing which I have observ'd to be more common in *France* than elsewhere ; he had spent his Youth at Court, or in the Army ; he had been always a great Lover of Books ; and having enjoy'd a long Season of Rest and Recollection, there was hardly any Subject of which he could not speak with great Propriety, and illustrate it with Stories equally pleasant and to the Purpose.

It happen'd once, that speaking of doubtful Events, Mr. *de St. Dennis* ask'd me, whether the Death of *Perkin Warbeck* as an Impostor, was not held to be of this Nature in *England*? To which I answer'd in the *Negative*, and that most People were satisfied he was what he was executed for, a *down-right Impostor*. That may be, said he, but at the Time of his Death, the general Opinion was otherwise, and many

ny of your Countrymen of great Quality, took it upon their *Deaths*, that he was the Son of *Edward IV*; how the general Opinion comes to be now otherwise, continued he, I find it not difficult to assign the Cause. *Henry VII.* a wise and artful Prince, as he put him to Death for an *Impostor*, so he took all the Care he could to establish the Opinion of his being guilty after his Demise; as he likewise took Care to extinguish the Pretensions of the *House of York*, and to depress its Adherents during his whole Reign. His Son *Henry VIII.* followed the same *Maxims*; and in the Course of near 50 Years, that the Throne was afterwards fill'd by his Posterity, whose Interest it was that this Story, true or false, should be believ'd, we need not wonder that it became at last a kind of Article in your political Faith; and especially seeing the *House of Stuart* derived their *Rights*, not from the *House of York*, but from that of *Lancaster*.

FROM this Subject, by a Transition natural enough, we fell upon that of the Death of Don *Sebastian King of Portugal*, which we all agreed was a most mysterious

rious Point. As mysterious as it is, said Mr. *de St. Dennis*, I have in my Library above Stairs, a little Tract concerning it, which belonged to Father *Cayet*, and which may be taken for as certain and impartial a Relation thereof, as any that the World hath hitherto met with. This was a Curiosity not to be passed by ; I intreated the Favour of perusing and making an Extract from it, which was readily granted. I have enquir'd concerning its principal Circumstances with great Circumspection, and have never met with any Reason to doubt the Credit of my Author, the Substance of whose Relation follows.

“ *SEBASTIAN* King of *Portugal* was born in the Year 1554, sometime after the Demise of his Father, “ Brother to the reigning King, and “ was carefully educated by his Mother, “ who was Daughter to the famous Emperor *Charles V.* In 1577, he succeeded his Uncle *John III.* In 1574, “ he conceiv’d a Design of making War “ on the *Moors*, and having made mighty Preparations for putting his Design in Execution, on the 9th of *July*, “ 1578, he landed at *Tangier* with a  
“ great

“ great Army ; on the 4th of *August*,  
 “ the same Year, he fought the un-  
 “ fortunate Battle of *Alcacar*, in which  
 “ the *Moors* were victorious ; tho'  
 “ they lost their King who died of a  
 “ Fever of which he had been long  
 “ sick in his Litter.

“ AFTER the Battle, the *Portuguese*  
 “ missing their King, sent to those who  
 “ were taken Prisoners, who thereupon  
 “ sought carefully for his Body, which,  
 “ as many supposed, was found. It  
 “ had seven large Wounds, and by Rea-  
 “ son of the excessive Heat of the Cli-  
 “ mate, was already in a State of Cor-  
 “ ruption. However, it was laid in a  
 “ Tent, and the Nobility went to see  
 “ it, but receiv'd no kind of Satisfaction,  
 “ that it was the Body of their King ;  
 “ on the contrary, it was generally  
 “ thought that it was not. Notwith-  
 “ standing which, King *Philip* of Spain,  
 “ having demanded it, and as some re-  
 “ port, having given a vast Sum for it, at  
 “ length it was sent him, and he caused  
 “ it to be interr'd, with all Royal Ho-  
 “ nours, at *Bethlehem*, which stands a Mile  
 “ from *Lisbon*, and is the usual Bury-  
 “ ing Place of the *Portuguese* Kings.

“ 'Tis

" 'Tis certain, that the *Portuguese*  
 " Nation in general, did never credit  
 " the Story of his Death; but were so  
 " firmly persuaded that he was alive,  
 " that they readily countenanc'd *two*  
 " Impostors, who were hardy enough  
 " to assume his Name. The *first* of  
 " these was the Son of a *Tile-Maker*,  
 " who was put upon it by a Priest, who  
 " gave himself out to be the Bishop of  
 " *Garda*; and who took a Note of their  
 " Names who bestow'd their Benefactions  
 " on his *Disciple*, in order to their being  
 " repaid when he should be restor'd.  
 " They were quickly apprehended, the  
 " Priest hang'd, and the pretended  
 " King sent to the Gallies. This hap-  
 " pen'd in the Year 1585.

" THE very same Year *Matthew Al-*  
 " *varez*, a Native of the Island of *Ter-*  
 " *cera*, and the Son of a *Stone-Cutter*,  
 " was persuaded to give himself out for  
 " King *Sebastian*. This Man was a  
 " *Hermit*, and led in Solitude a harm-  
 " less inoffensive Life. Many of whom  
 " he begg'd believ'd they saw in his  
 " Countenance the Features of Don  
 " *Sebastian*; they told him so, but he  
 " very honestly answer'd, that he was  
 " no

" no King, but a poor Hermit. By  
 " Degrees, however, Ambition got the  
 " better, both of his Reason and of his  
 " Virtue ; he no longer answer'd as he  
 " was wont, but on the contrary, gave  
 " all who interrogated him Cause to  
 " apprehend that he was really the  
 " King. By Degrees he permitted them  
 " to pay him Royal Honours, suffer'd  
 " his Hand to be kissed, and dined in  
 " Publick ; nay, he went so far at last,  
 " as to write to the *Cardinal Archduke*  
 " *Albert*, commanding him to quit his  
 " Palace, for that he intended to resume  
 " the Government. Upon this, a Body  
 " of Troops was sent against him and his  
 " Adherents, by whom they were rout-  
 " ed, and himself taken Prisoner. His  
 " Death quickly follow'd, accompanied  
 " with extraordinary Marks of Severity.  
 " He had his Right Hand cut off,  
 " after which he was strangled, and his  
 " Body quarter'd. By his Means the  
 " Spanish Government reckoned a Stop  
 " would be put to the Hopes of Pre-  
 " tenders, and to the credulous Folly  
 " of the Portuguese.  
 " IN 1598; notwithstanding these  
 " Severities, there went a Report, that  
 " the

" the true Don *Sebastian* had been seen  
 " in *Italy*. Upon this one *Manuel Antonez*,  
 " who had served the Cardinal  
 " *Henry*, who succeeded Don *Sebastian*,  
 " declar'd publickly in *Portugal*, that  
 " *Sebastian* was not kill'd at the Battle  
 " of *Alcacar*, but that himself return'd  
 " with him into *Portugal*; and that the  
 " King put himself into a Religious  
 " House in *Algarve*, there to do Penance  
 " for his Temerity, in Vindication of  
 " which Account, he produced an Act  
 " drawn up in Form, under the Hand  
 " and Seal of the Father, *Guardian* of  
 " that Religious House. This Affair  
 " making a great Noise, *Manual Antonez*  
 " was directed to apply himself to the  
 " Court of *Spain*, which Order he  
 " obey'd, and having produced his Pa-  
 " per to King *Philip*, was seized, com-  
 " mitted to Prison, and never heard of  
 " more.

" THIS new *Sebastian* appear'd first  
 " at *Padua*, where many pitied and re-  
 " liev'd him. This making some Noise  
 " in the World, Directions were sent to  
 " *Padua* from *Venice*, to oblige the Per-  
 " son who called himself King of  
 " *Portugal*, to retire from thence in

" three

" three Days, and in the Space of a  
 " Week to quit the Dominions of  
 " *Venice*. He was sick when this Order  
 " was notified to him, but as soon as he  
 " recover'd he went to *Venice*, in order  
 " to give an Account of himself to the  
 " *Seignory*. The Ambassador of *Spain*  
 " instantly applied himself to that *Senate*,  
 " demanding that this *Impostor* should  
 " be apprehended, and charging him  
 " with many enormous Crimes. He  
 " was accordingly in the Month of  
 " *November* thrown into a Dungeon,  
 " and Commissioners appointed to hear  
 " what the *Spanish* Ambassador could  
 " prove against him, which came at last  
 " to nothing at all.

" He was Eight and Twenty Times  
 " examined ; at first he answer'd readily  
 " all the Questions that were ask'd him  
 " concerning the Embassies sent to him,  
 " while he was King of *Portugal*, the  
 " Measures he had taken, the Letters he  
 " had written, and Ministers he had made  
 " Use of. But at last he refus'd to an-  
 " swer any more Questions, addressing  
 " himself to his Judges in these Words ;  
 " *My Lords, I am Sebastian King of Por-*  
 " *tugal, I desire you will suffer me to be seen*  
 " by

" by my Subjects, many of them have known,  
 " and must remember me ; many others,  
 " Strangers to that Nation, have likewise  
 " seen and conversed with me ; if any Proof  
 " can be offered, that I am an Impostor, I  
 " am content to die ; but would you put  
 " me to Death meerly for having preferred  
 " you to the rest of the European Powers,  
 " in seeking Refuge in your Dominions ?

" DOCTOR Sampajo, and other Por-  
 " tuguese, then resident in *Venice*, sol-  
 " licited vehemently his being set at Li-  
 " berty ; the Commissioners inform'd  
 " them, that without a Certificate of in-  
 " dubitable Authenticity, as to the Marks  
 " by which Don *Sebastian* might be  
 " known, they could not set this Person  
 " at Liberty ; because they knew their  
 " Hatred to the *Castilians* to be such,  
 " that if Need were, they would ac-  
 " knowledge a *Negroe* to be Don *Sebasti-*  
 " *an*. Dr. *Sampajo* upon this went pri-  
 " vately to *Lisbon*, from whence he  
 " return'd, and brought with him to  
 " *Venice* a *Canon*, and an Instrument  
 " sign'd by an *Apostolick Notary*, con-  
 " taining an exact Account of the Marks  
 " on Don *Sebastian's Body* ; whereupon  
 " he renew'd his Request, which the  
 " Seignory

“ Seignory evaded, alledging, they could  
 “ not enter into such an Inquiry at the  
 “ Request of private Persons, but that  
 “ they were ready to do it, if any of  
 “ the Potentates of *Europe* interested  
 “ themselves therein. The *Portuguese*  
 “ upon this, applied themselves to Fo-  
 “ reign Courts with unwearied Diligence.

“ At laſt, on the 11th of December  
 “ the ſame Year, Don *Christopher*, the  
 “ younger Son of Don *Antonio*, once  
 “ King of *Portugal*, attended by *Sebasti-*  
 “ *an Figuara*, arriv’d at *Venice*, with  
 “ Letters from the *States General* and  
 “ Prince *Maurice*. Upon this, a Day  
 “ of Audience was appointed, on which  
 “ the Person calling himſelf *Sebastian*,  
 “ was feated on the Right Hand of the  
 “ Prince, and permitted to deliver his  
 “ Pretensions in Writing to the *Duke*,  
 “ and two hundred *Senators*, who when  
 “ they ſpoke to him gave him the Title  
 “ of *Illuſtrissimo*. This was on the *Tues-*  
 “ *day*; on *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Fri-*  
 “ *day*, the *Council* was continued. At  
 “ Ten in the Evening of the laſt menti-  
 “ on’d Day, they made their Report to  
 “ the *Senate*, who immedately sum-  
 “ mon’d Don *Sebastian* before them, to  
 “ whom

“ whom they gave the same Injunction  
 “ that he had before receiv’d at *Padua* ;  
 “ while this Order, which was in Writ-  
 “ ing, was read, the *Senators* continued  
 “ standing, while he who call’d himself  
 “ *Sebastian* sate, and remain’d cover’d.

“ WHEN he came out he would not  
 “ suffer any to accompany him to the  
 “ House where he had first lodged,  
 “ where he found *Roderigo Marquez*,  
 “ and *Sebastian Figuera*, who at the first  
 “ Sight of him were extremely sur-  
 “ priz’d : They said he was much  
 “ chang’d, but that they were posi-  
 “ tive he was the King, of which  
 “ they advised his Cousin Don *Chri-*  
*“ stopher*, who thereupon ordered he  
 “ should be conducted to the Lodg-  
 “ ings of Don *John de Castro*, which  
 “ were in a more private Part of  
 “ the City.

“ THERE he shew’d himself to all  
 “ the *Portuguese*, observing to them,  
 “ that his Person was very remarkable,  
 “ his whole *Right Side* being bigger than  
 “ his *Left* ; he measured his Arms, his  
 “ Legs, his Thighs, then kneeling down,  
 “ he discover’d that his right Shoulder  
 VOL. I. D “ was

" was higher than his left by three  
 " Inches, he shewed them the Scar on  
 " his right Eye-brow, and suffer'd all  
 " who desired to feel with their Fin-  
 " gers a remarkable Cleft in his Skull.  
 " He then shewed them that he wanted  
 " a *Tooth* on the right Side of his lower  
 " Jaw, which he said had been drawn  
 " by *Sebastian Nero* his Barber, all the  
 " rest of his Teeth being firm and  
 " strong. They would then have had  
 " him eat, but he refused so to do,  
 " because it was *Friday*. As those who  
 " were about him came from different  
 " Countries, some were habited after the  
 " Dutch, some after the *Italian*, others  
 " after the *French* Fashion; one whose  
 " Name was *Francis Antonio*, was in the  
 " Garb of a *Pilgrim*, with a Staff in his  
 " Hand. *Sebastian* standing by the  
 " Fire, after continuing a long Time  
 " silent, at last said with a Smile, *Tanto*  
 " *trage!* *What odd Fashions!* Upon  
 " which, some of the *Portuguese* Nobi-  
 " lity, who had been to that Time si-  
 " lent, cry'd out, that from the Manner  
 " of his pronouncing those Words,  
 " they knew him to be the King. The  
 " second Night understanding that all  
 " the

“ the Passes into the Country of the  
 “ *Grisons* were secured, he went over  
 “ into the *Terra Firma* in the Habit of  
 “ a *Monk*, but when he quitted *Padua*,  
 “ he resumed his Cloak and Sword,  
 “ took the Road to *Florence*, and was  
 “ there arrested by Order of the *Grand  
 Duke*.

“ THE King of *Spain* immediately  
 “ demanded that he should be put into  
 “ his Hands, which the *Grand Duke*  
 “ refused to do, justifying himself by  
 “ the Example of the *State of Venice*.  
 “ However the Duke of *Savoy* prepar-  
 “ ing to invade his Dominions, he caus-  
 “ ed *Sebastian* to be sent to *Orbitello*,  
 “ and put into the Hands of the *Spa-  
 niards*. The Wits in *Italy* were migh-  
 “ tily divided on this Accident, some  
 “ commending the *Grand Duke* for dis-  
 “ couraging an *Impostor*; others alledg-  
 “ ing that it was a direct Breach of Faith.  
 “ He who call'd himself King of *Por-  
 tugal*, understood it in this Light, he  
 “ reproached the *Grand Duke's Officers*  
 “ in the severest Terms, adding, when  
 “ he was deliver'd to the *Spaniards*, that  
 “ he did not doubt but God would pu-

" nish the House of *Medicis* for their  
" Perfidy towards him.

" At *Naples* he was imprison'd in  
" the Castle *del Ovo*, and as the *Por-*  
" *tuguese* affirm, was lock'd up in a  
" Chamber for *three* Days without hav-  
" ing any Sustenance given him, or so  
" much as seeing the Face of any Per-  
" son ; only a *Rope* and a *Knife* of half  
" a Foot long were left in a Corner of  
" the Room. *Sebastian* did not make  
" Use of either of these Remedies, but  
" bore with Patience and Resignation  
" all the Injuries and Hardships which  
" were put upon him. The *fourth*  
" Day the *Auditor General*, accompa-  
" nied by *two Secretaries*, made him  
" a Visit : This Magistrate told the  
" Prisoner in few Words, that provided  
" he laid aside the Chimerical Stile he  
" had hitherto assumed, he might have  
" Meat, Drink, a convenient Lodging,  
" and other Accommodations. *I cannot*  
" do that, said he, *I am Don Sebastian*  
" *King of Portugal, whose Sins have*  
" drawn upon him these severe Chastise-  
" ments ; *I am content to die after what*  
" manner you please, but to deny the Truth,  
" that I can never do. After this he was  
" allow'd

" allow'd Bread and Water for some  
 " Time, and then *five* Crowns a Month,  
 " and a Servant to attend him.

" *THE Conde de Lemos*, at that Time  
 " Viceroy of *Naples*, being desirous to  
 " see him, he was conducted to the Pa-  
 " lace, where entering the Hall, and  
 " perceiving the Count bare-headed,  
 " which happened accidentally, on Ac-  
 " count of the Heat of the Weather,  
 " he said in a grave and majestic Tone,  
 " *Conde de Lemos be cover'd*. The  
 " Spectators being astonish'd, the Count  
 " asked him with some Disdain, by  
 " by what Authority he bid him be co-  
 " ver'd? *By an Authority*, replied the  
 " Prisoner, to which my Birth entituled  
 " me. But why, Sir, do you pretend not  
 " to know me? I remember you very well;  
 " my Uncle Philip sent you twice to me  
 " into Portugal, where you had such and  
 " such private Conferences with me. The  
 " Count, touch'd with this Discourse,  
 " continu'd some Time silent; at last,  
 " he said to the Keeper who was  
 " with him, *Take him away, he is an*  
 " *Impostor*. No, Sir, return'd he, *I am*  
 " *the unfortunate King of Portugal, and*  
 " *you know it well. A Man of your*

" Quality ought on all Occasions, either to  
 " be silent, or to speak the Truth. While  
 " the Conde de Lemos liv'd, except his  
 " Imprisonment, Sebastian endur'd no  
 " great Hardship ; he was allow'd to  
 " live as he pleased, and was permitted  
 " to go to Chapel whenever he desir'd  
 " it. He fasted regularly Fridays and  
 " Saturdays, and during the whole Lent  
 " contented himself with Herbs and  
 " Roots, receiv'd the Sacrament, and  
 " went to Confession constantly.

" THE Conde de Lemos was succeeded  
 " in his Government by his Son, who  
 " treated Sebastian with great Rigour.  
 " The Bishop of Reggio was sent to  
 " exorcise him, (the Spanish Ministry on  
 " Account of his Answers, affecting to  
 " believe he was a Magician.) This Pre-  
 " late having perform'd his Office with  
 " great Solemnity, the Prisoner drew a  
 " little Crucifix out of his Bosom : Be-  
 " bold, said he, the Badge of my Profession,  
 " the Standard of that Captain whom to  
 " the last Drop of my Blood I shall serve.  
 " On the first of April 1602, he was  
 " carried from the Castle mounted upon  
 " an Ass, three Trumpets sounding be-  
 " fore him, and a Herald proclaiming  
     " there

" these Words, *His most Catholick Ma-*  
 " *jesty hath commanded this Man to be*  
 " *led through the Streets of Naples with all*  
 " *Marks of Ignominy, and then to serve on*  
 " *Board the Gallies for Life, for giving*  
 " *himself out to be Don Sebastian King of*  
 " *Portugal, whereas he is a Calabrian.*  
 " The Trumpets sounded before and  
 " after Proclamation. When the He-  
 " ralds spoke of his calling himself King,  
 " he cried out, *and so I am*; when he  
 " came to the Word *Calabrian*, the Pri-  
 " soner cried out again, *That is false*.

" AFTER this, he was put on Board  
 " the Gallies, and for a Day or two,  
 " chain'd to the Oar; but as soon as  
 " they were out of the Port, they re-  
 " stored him his own Cloaths, and treated  
 " him like a Gentleman. In the Month  
 " of *August 1602*, the Gallies came into  
 " Port St. Lucar, where the Duke and  
 " Dutchesse of *Medina Sidonia* desired to  
 " see the Prisoner. When they had  
 " conversed together some Time, Se-  
 " bastian asked the Duke if he had still  
 " the Sword which he gave him? *I*  
 " *have*, reply'd the Duke cautiously, *a*  
 " *Sword given me by Don Sebastian, when*  
 " *he went to Africk, which I keep among*

" other Swords presented to me. Let them  
 " be brought, said the Prisoner, I shall  
 " know the Sword I gave you. A Ser-  
 " vant being sent upon this Occasion,  
 " return'd presently with a dozen. Se-  
 " bastian having examin'd them, one by  
 " one, turn'd gravely to the Duke and  
 " said, Sir, my Sword is not here. The  
 " Servant being remanded to bring the  
 " rest, as soon as he came with them,  
 " Sebastian catched one out of his Hand,  
 " crying out, This, Sir, is the Sword I  
 " gave you. When he came to be put  
 " on Board the Gallies, he said to the  
 " Dutches: Madam, I have nothing to  
 " give you now, when I went to Africk I  
 " gave you a Ring, if you will send for it  
 " I will tell you a Secret. The Dutches  
 " said it was true the King of Portugal  
 " had given her a Ring, and ordered it to  
 " be sent for. When Sebastian saw it, Pres-  
 " it with your Fingers, Madam, said he, the  
 " Jewel may then be taken out, and beneath  
 " it you will find my Cypher, which proved  
 " true. The Duke and Dutches shed  
 " Tears at his Departure. When he  
 " took his Leave he said to the Dut-  
 " ches, Madam, the Negroe Slave who  
 " attends you, formerly washed my Linne:  
 " Sebastian

“ *Sébastien* was after this imprisoned,  
 “ yet treated with Lenity till he died,  
 “ which happen’d at four Years End,  
 “ always persisting that he was in Truth  
 “ what he gave himself out to be.”

MR. *de St. Dennis* was the first who spoke to me of the Necessity of acting upon settled Principles, and proposing some certain End to myself; a Thing easily apprehended by my Judgment, but hardly reconcileable to my Inclinations. I had left my Country young; had framed to myself no distinct Ideas, either of Civil or Ecclesiastical Polity; the Instructions I had receiv’d on one Hand, were hindered from making any great Impression by those given me on the other; the odd turn my Affairs had taken, had in a manner jostled out both; so that when I came into this *French* Gentleman’s Family, my Mind was a kind of Blank, in which, except the first Principles of Morality and the Christian Religion, there was nothing written, or at least nothing which might not easily have been effaced. To him I stood indebted for most of those Maxims, which in succeeding Years preserved me from those Misfortunes which

are too common to Wanderers, and which in Spight of that roving Temper, that I could never totally subdue, maintained me in a State of tolerable Tranquility in my own Breast, and hindered me from becoming offensive to others. He directed my Studies, inform'd me what Books were worth reading, and what would only burthen my Memory without informing my Understanding. From him I learn'd to place Religion in my Heart, and in my Actions, without suffering it to dwell too much upon my Lips ; to preserve a respectful Behaviour towards the establish'd *Form of Religion*, and towards the *Clergy* in all Countries ; to habituate myself to Acts of Charity, and to a Complacency for all sorts of Persons with whom I had Occasion to converse. Mr. Fetherstone instructed me as to the Methods of remitting Money, and of travelling with Ease and Safety through *France* and *Italy*. After we had been at *Roan* about six Weeks, he set out for *Paris*, and return'd a few Days after with the News of his Uncle's Death, which happened suddenly, the Day after he arriv'd, by which he became possessed of a little Fortune,

tune, which turned into ready Money, amounted to about 4000 *Livres*.

IN the Spring of the Year 1663, I receiv'd from my Uncle Bills of Exchange for about 1000*l.* with a Security on his Estate for the Remainder of my Fortune. I then determined to travel into *Italy*, not judging it proper to reside at *Paris*, on Account of the Influence of the *English* Court, and the Pains which I knew had been taken to apprehend such as had been for the *Parliament*, and had fled on that Account into *France*. We determined to set out in *April*, and in the mean time, Mr. *de St. Dennis* carried me to most of the remarkable Places in *Normandy*, giving me proper Information as to the Antiquities, and other Particularities, whereby they were rendered remarkable.

THE Castle of *Ivetot*, with a pretty Lordship round it, lies at a small Distance from *Roan*. It was at the Time that I saw it in the Hands of Mr. *de Bellay*, a Person of great Family, and who seldom resided there. This Manor or Lordship, is the Glory of the *Pais de Caux*, having been formerly a distinct Kingdom, and remaining to this Day a Principality,

Principality, of which this is, as I was informed, an authentick Account. *Gautier de Iveto* was Chamberlain to King *Clotaire*, and a Gentleman of great Courage, as well as wonderful Probity; Qualities which gained him the Love of his Sovereign, and in Consequence thereof, the Hatred of his Courtiers, who devised so many Stories to his Prejudice, that the poor Man thought proper to retire from Court, and even to quit his native Country. Ten Years he travelled Abroad, and with equal Valour and Success, fought against the *Saracens*. At length being desirous to return into *France*, he went to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd by Pope *Agapetus* with great Honours, and obtain'd Letters commendatory to King *Clotaire*, which he presented him at *Amiens* on *Good-Friday*, as the King was at Chapel. At first the King did not remember him, but perceiving by the *Pope's* Letters who he was, he suddenly catch'd a Sword from one of his Guards, and kill'd the unfortunate Gentleman, who was on his Knees before him. The *Pope* so highly resented this Fact, that he immediately sent a *Legate* to inform the King, that  
he

he would put him and his whole Kingdom under an *Interdit*, if he did not g've the Church Satisfaction for the Murder of *Gautier de Ivetot*. The King thereupon declared, that as he had violated the Bonds by which Princes and Subjects are united to each other, he was content to release the Descendants of *Gautier de Ivetot*, from all Homage, Fealty, or other Obligation, in respect of the Lands by him possessed at that Day, which he accordingly did by a solemn Act dated A. D. 553. Thus the Lordship of *Ivetot* was erected into a Kingdom; but on the Extinction of the Family, the Title was reduced to that of a *Principality*.

THE *Pais de Caux* is one of the richest Districts of *Normandy*, tho' not very large, the Worth of this Territory may be guessed from the following short and pleasant Description.

*Au noble Pays de Caux,*  
*Y a quatre Abbayes Royaux,*  
*Six Prieurez conventaux,*  
*Et six Barons de grand arroy,*  
*Quatres Comtes, trois Ducs, un Roy.*

The

The English of which is :

*In the fruitful Pays de Caux,  
Royal Abbies there are four,  
Six fair Priories also,  
Of Baronies as many more :  
Four Earls, three Dukes, from thence  
their Titles bring,  
And what is greater still — Here dwells  
a KING.*

THE King hinted at in these Verses is the King of *Ivetot* beforemention'd ; I shall not pretend to set down the Names of the other Places mention'd in the Verses. It is sufficient to say, that *Diepe*, *Havre de Grace*, *Harfleur*, and other remarkable Places, are seated in this District. The Estates of the Inhabitants descend to the eldest Son entire, contrary to the Custom of *Normandy*, by which Lands descend in *Gavel-kind*.

OUR next Journey was to the other Side of *Normandy*, viz. to *Caen*. It is certainly a very ancient, and remains to this Day, a very beautiful and pleasant Place ; but to believe that it was built by an *Israelite*, called *Cademoth*, or that

the

the famous *Cadmus* laid its first Stone, requires more Faith than an intelligent Man is usually Master of. Without troubling one's self farther, as to a Point not easily to be settled, let it suffice that it is strong, populous, rich, and pleasant, watered by *two* fair Rivers, and seated but at a very small Distance from the Sea ; adorned with a University, and protected by a Castle, which, if its Fortifications answered its Situation, could not be easily taken. In this Castle there is a *Donjon*, or high square Tower ; in ancient Times the Mark of a *Barony*, or Lordship. In this City, amongst other stately religious Houses, stands an *Abbey*, dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*, which acknowledges for its Founder, *William the Conqueror*. In 1542, a Vault being opened in a Church of the said *Abbey*, there the Bodies of that *Prince*, and of his Wife *Matilda*, were found. This City is the Capital of Lower *Normandy*, and the Head of a *Bailiwick*, which derives its Name from thence, and is of a very considerable Extent. Yet with all these Advantages, it is not a Bishoprick, but makes a Part of the Diocese of the Bishop of *Bayeux*.

THERE

THERE are many Monuments of the *English* Dominion in this, as indeed there are in most of the remarkable Places in *Normandy*, and many of the *Gentry* are of *Surnames* well known in *England*. This gives the Inhabitants a peculiar Affection for the Natives of our Island ; but I cannot agree with some sanguine Travellers, that they are desirous of returning under our Dominion, the *French* in general being as loyal to their Princes, as most Nations in *Europe*.

AT my Return to *Roan*, I expected to have found a Letter from my Uncle, in Answer to a long Epistle I had written him, as to my Intention of visiting *Italy* ; but, to my great Surprize, no Letter was come, neither did I receive one in *three Weeks* ; I was afraid of writing again, no Friend in *England* had my Address, it was dangerous to make any Enquiries at *Paris* ; at length, growing very impatient, Mr. *Fetherstone*, tho' his Affairs were rather in a worse Situation than mine, I mean with respect to the Government, offered to go to *England* to obtain some Satisfaction. I cannot tell, whether in Justice I ought to have exposed him to so great a Risque as he ran ; but being a young

young Man, and as yet little acquainted with Disappointments, I readily accepted his Kindness, and we immediately concerted the Means for his Passage from *Calais* without Suspicion.

M. *de St. Dennis* had some Manuscripts relating to Chemistry, which he caused to be very fairly transcribed, bound in a Velvet Cover, and embossed with Gold, the whole so tinctured with a Solution of *Saffron*, that they appeared to have been written a long time. These Manuscripts Mr. *Fetherstone* carry'd to *Paris*, and by the means of an *English* Roman Catholick, whose Name was *Talbot*, got himself recommended to an Agent of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, who first endeavoured to buy the Manuscripts ; and finding that impracticable, procured Passes for my Friend under the Name of *Vincent le Blanc*, to go over into *England* with a certain sealed Packet directed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

THIS Scheme succeeded perfectly well. Mr. *Fetherstone* came safe to *London*, took Lodgings in *St Martin's-Lane*, and after three Weeks Negociation with the Duke, sold him the Manuscripts for *sixty Pounds*. In this Time he learned that a *Plot*, either

ther real or pretended, had been discovered, and my Uncle, on Account of some Remittances made to General *Ludlow*, had been apprehended and brought up to *London*, where tho' there was no Foundation for this Suspicion, after nine Weeks close Imprisonment, he was at length not totally set at Liberty, but admitted to *Bail*. When he was by this means at Liberty as to his Person, Mr. *Fetherstone* saw him, and receiv'd from him Instructions for me not to write any more by the Method hitherto used; he likewise signified his Approbation of my going to *Italy*, and gave Mr. *Fetherstone* some Letters for *English* Gentlemen there. This Business being done, Mr. *Fetherstone* prepared for his Return, and upon Application to the Duke, easily procured such Licences as were necessary for his passing out of the Kingdom. The Day before he was to set out, taking a Walk in the Park, he was met and known by Lieutenant Colonel *Brown*, who had been an Officer in *Cromwell's Guards*; the Colonel pressed him to dine with him, which after some Difficulty Mr. *Fetherstone* consented to, and fixed on a House in *Old-Palace-Yard*, promising to be there exactly

exactly at One o'Clock. But when he had thus disengag'd himself for the present, he sent his Cloak-bag to an Inn in *Southwark*, and taking Post Horses, made the utmost Dispatch to *Dover*, where embarking, in *three Hours Time* he pass'd to *Calais*, and from thence came the next Day to *Roan*.

WHEN after the first Compliments, he told me this Story, and I ask'd him how he came to fatigue himself so excessively, when there was no appearance of the Colonel's betraying him ; he answered, That it was one of *Thurloe's Maxims*, *A Man should in no wise hazard his Safety for a Dinner, and a little idle Chat, which can never produce much Good, and may possibly issue in Rain.* I was perfectly satisfied with his Conduct in this Journey, and on his Return began to prepare in earnest for my Passage into *Italy*, where I flattered myself I should be extremely delighted, though I knew not why or wherefore ; which I take to be a Circumstance no way peculiar to me, but common to most young Travellers, who seek Pleasure in every thing but *Quiet*, which on this side of the Grave is most capable of affording true Satisfaction.

A little before I set out, M. *de St. Dennis* receiv'd Advice from *Paris*, that a Person of Distinction to whom he was well known, was to go shortly to *Italy* on the King's Affairs. The good old Man laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to procure for me a very commodious Method of Travelling. For the better effecting of this he invited M. *de St. Paul*, a very ancient Gentleman, and Uncle to him in whose Train I was to go, to come to his House to Supper. This Gentleman, tho' he was little less than *four score*, had abundance of Life and Spirit, and told us many entertaining Stories, especially of the Court of *Henry IV.* in which he had liv'd four or five Years. I laid hold of this Opportunity to enquire into the Particulars of that Prince's Death. M. *de St. Paul* told me, that many things were remarked concerning it, which were truly extraordinary, of which he gave us a Multitude of Instances; the most remarkable were these.

ON *Thursday* the 13th of *May* 1610, being the Day of the Queen's Coronation, and the Day before the Murder of the King; his Majesty in the Evening  
was

was speaking with great Marks of Tenderness of the Queen, and of her Conduct, during the Ceremony ; *La Brosse*, an old Physician, discoursing with the Duke *de Vendome*, said, *If his Majesty out-lives a Mischief which threatens him at present, he will live these thirty Years.* The Duke *de Vendome* immediately desired the King to hear what *La Brosse* had to say. *What is it ?* said the King tartly. The Duke held his Peace, but the King commanding him to speak ; he told him what *La Brosse* had just before said : *He is an old Fool for telling you such Things, and you are a young Fool* (said the King) if you believe him. *Sire*, returned the Duke, *one ought not to believe such Things, but one may fear them.* *A l' France is bound to take Care of your Majesty ; and as for me, I am more bound thereto than any other.* *Let me beseech you to hear La Brosse. Hold your Tongue*, cried the King, *I will not bear him.* *Well Sire*, said the Duke of *Vendome* then, *I will carry him to the Duke.* *If you do*, said the King hastily, *I will never love you more.* He repeated these Words in so angry a Tone, that the Duke of *Vendome* desisted, and *La Brosse* was not heard.

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THE same Day as the King was going with the Queen into his Cabinet, he stopp'd to speak to somebody, upon which the Queen stopp'd also, *Passez, passez, Madam la Regente*, i. e. Go on, go on, *Madam the Regent*, said the King. A few Days before his Death the Queen had two odd *Dreams*. She fancied that the Diamonds, Rubies, and other Jewels in her Crown, were changed into *Pearls*, and that she was told *Pearls* signified *Tears*. The Night after she started and cried out in her Sleep; the King wak-ing, catched her in his Arms, and asked her what was the Matter. *I have had a frightful Dream*, said she, *but Dreams are Delusions*. *I have always thought so too*, said the King; *however tell me what it was*. With much Intreaty she pro-ceeded. *I dreamt, said she, that you were stabb'd with a Knife under the short Ribs. Blessed be God*, said the King, *it was but a Dream*, and so went to Sleep.

ON the Day the King was kill'd, he was observ'd to be very uneasy; nay, he observ'd it himself, and said several times, that something sat heavy on his Heart. When he was going out he asked if the Coach was below. The

Villain who kill'd him was at the Foot of the Stairs, and was heard to mutter, *I shall have you, you are lost.* He thrice took leave of the Queen before he went into the Coach. He then seemed to resume himself, he forbid the Guards to follow him out of the *Louvre*; sent the Captain to the *Palais*; the Lieutenant was sick; the Ensign was gone with a Message to the *President du Harlay*; so that the Coach was open on all Sides; his Attendance went through another Street; the *Rue de la Ferronneire* being very narrow, was encumber'd with two Waggons, one laden with Wine, the other with Corn, which obliged the King's Coach to stop. At that Instant the King threw back his Cloak, and put himself into such a Position, as left his Side wholly exposed to the *Affassin*, who said himself afterwards, that he thrust his Knife into the King's Body, as into a Sack of Corn.

It was remark'd, that in the Space of a Week the French saw two Kings interred, who both died by the Knives of *Affassins*; for but a few Days before his own Death, *Henry IV.* had caused his Predecessor to be solemnly interred.

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It is certain that in *Flanders* the King's Death was spoke of as soon as it happen'd, and the Queen's Jeweller receiv'd a Letter the next Day from one of his Correspondents, desiring that he would inform him whether the King was kill'd or no. M. *de St. Paul* laid great Stress on these *Omens*; and indeed I have heard others speak of them with Surprize. For my own part, I know not what to say; this I know, that many rash and ignorant People disregard and laugh at these Things, and that Men of great Wisdom and Learning speak of them with Diffidence, and strive rather to encourage others to slight them, than shew any real Contempt of them themselves.

By the Help of this Mr. *de St. Paul*, I was so effectually recommended to the Count *de Gassion*, that he readily consented to my going with him into *Italy*, and even did me the Honour of his Intimacy and Friendship. Mr. *Fetherstone* had engag'd in some Concerns of Trade, and therefore chose to remain at *Roan*. When all things were ready, my private Concerns settled, and my Debt, tho' not my Obligation to my kind Host M. *de*

*St.*

*St. Dennis* discharg'd, I set out with my  
Man *Johnson* for *Paris*.

THE City of *Roan* is as pleasant, populous, and well built as any in *France*. Ships of considerable Burden come up the River *Seine*, and lye close to the Key. The Bridge, which rises and falls with the River, is venerable for its Antiquity, admirable for its Beauty, and valuable for its Conveniency. At *Roan* the Parliament of *Normandy* is fixed, it assembles in an elegant Building, by far more beautiful and stately, as well as more neat and convenient, than that at *Paris*, destin'd to the same Use. It is composed of two Presidents, twenty Counsellors, and as many Advocates as the Court thinks fit to admit. The first President takes Place of the Governor of the Province, unless in a Convention of the Estates, for there the Governor presides. The Archbishop of *Roan* is Primate of *Normandy*, and the first of his Predecessors was consecrated Archbishop during the general Council at *Arles* under *Constantine the Great*. The Revenue of the See may amount to three thousand Pounds per Ann. of our Money. Besides the Cathedral and Religious Houses,

there are in *Roan* thirty-two Parish-Churches. The Metropolitan Church is dedicated to *our Lady*, and is remarkable for its having three fine Towers. One of these, because it was built with the Money arising from the Sale of Dispensations to eat *Butter* in *Lent*, is called *La Toure de Beurre*, or the *Butter-Tower*. In the Tower over the Porch hangs the great Bell so much talk'd of, call'd from him who placed it there, *George Amboise*. It is about thirteen Foot high, eleven in Diameter, and weighs, as the old *French* Verses upon it tell us, *Forty Thousand Pounds*.

THE principal Abbey is dedicated to *St. Owen*, of whom I am almost ashamed to tell a Story, that is however universally received here. They say there was a great Dragon in the Neighbourhood, which did prodigious Mischief, and which became at last so formidable, that the People began to quit their Houses, and to leave the Country desolate. *Romanus* was then Archbishop of *Roan*, who commiserating the Distress of his Flock, resolved to go in quest of this Dragon. Before he set out, he chose for his Companions, a *Thief* and

and a *Murderer*, who were at that time in Prison. When he drew near the *Dragon's Den*, and that dreadful Creature came hissing towards him, the *Thief* took to his Heels, but the *Murderer* stuck fast by the Archbishop, who when he had offered up his Prayers to *God*, took off his *Stole*, and advancing directly to the *Dragon*, put it about his Neck, and deliver'd him, thus made Prisoner, to the *Murderer*, who carried the Creature in Triumph o the City, where it was first strangled, and then burnt to Ashes. This Exploit is said to have been performed on *Holy Thursday*, in what Year I cannot pretend to say. Thus much is certain, that St. *Owen*, who succeeded St. *Romanus*, certified this Fact to King *Dagobert*, about the Year of Christ 635, and obtained from him a perpetual Edict, whereby the *Canons* of the *Cathedral Church* are vested with a Power of delivering on every *Ascension-Day*, any Criminal appointed to suffer Death. But the *Criminal* must give Security to assist either himself, or by *Proxy*, at the annual Procession in Memory of this *Miracle* for seven Years.

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NORMANDY, divided into the *bigrer* and *lower*, is one of the most considerable Provinces in *France*, as well in Regard to its Fertility, as Extent, and always made a very distinguished Figure in the World. It was formerly reckon'd a Part of *Neustria*, or the Kingdom of *Soissons*, but in the ninth Century it chang'd its Name and its Master, being yielded by *Charles the Simple* to the *Normans*, whereupon *Rollo* their Prince call'd it *Normandy*, and stiled himself *Duke* thereof. The Descendant and Successor of this Prince, *William the Conqueror*, annexed it to *England*. When *John*, the Grandson of that Prince, mounted the Throne, he seized this Dutchy as well as he had done the Kingdom, in Prejudice to his Nephew *Arthur*, who in a short time after was murdered, with Circumstances strongly insinuating the Connivance at least, if not the Direction of his Uncle. Upon this King *John*, as a *Peer of France*, was summoned to answer before the *Parliament of Paris*, where by neglecting to appear, either by himself or Proxy, he was by *Arret of Parliament* declared Convict, and his Lands forfeit-ed.

ed. Whereupon *Philip Augustus*, King of France, did, in the Year 1202, seize the said *Dutchy* into his Hands.

It was afterwards however recovered by the *English*, and finally taken from them by *Charles VII.* and inseparably annexed to the Crown by *Lewis XI.* *Lewis XII.* fixed the *Parliament at Roan*, and succeeding Kings have honour'd it with other Favours. The *Normans* however do not forget that they were once a free and independent People, but have so vigorously insisted on their Privileges at all Times, that they have hitherto conserved most of them, particularly that of being governed by their own Laws, and being exempted from a great many Taxes. In other Respects the *Normans* are very good Subjects, and as they are an industrious trading People, furnish to the Royal Revenue very large Sums. Wine is wanting to this Province, but the Deficiency is tolerably well supplied by a great Quantity of good *Cyder*, which is the common Drink of the Natives, and much more than compensated by the abundance of fine Wheat, which is the Glory of this Country, and which is produc-

ed with half the Cultivation necessary in our own. The People are strong, hardy, and industrious, fairer and more fresh-colour'd than in other Parts of *France*, and less subject to the Gout and Stone, than the Inhabitants of those Provinces which abound in Vineyards, and are consequently well stored with Wine. Their great Vice is Litigiousness; and in Truth they need not have a worse, since it is the Parent of Fraud, Malice, and ill Neighbourhood.

DURING the Stay I made at *Paris*, I lodg'd at the House of Mr. *D'Aulnoy*; he was himself a Man of good Sense, great Worth, and much Learning; his Lady the most agreeable Woman in the World, and held to write the best Stile in *France* of any of her Sex, after *Madam de Scudery*. I remain'd at this Gentleman's House but three Weeks, and in that small Space I was sensible that I improv'd my self very much in the *French* Language. At my setting out for *Italy* I carry'd with me a hundred Pistoles, and Bills for three hundred more on Mr. *Hobson* at *Venice*. The same Sum I deposited in the Hands of a Banker at *Paris*, having also some Money

Money in the Hands of M. de St. Dennis at *Roan*. My Design was first to visit the principal Places in *Italy*, and then to return into *France*, that from thence, if the Times in respect to my Affairs were mended, I might pass over into *England*.

WE left *Paris* in the Month of *March*, in order to go to *Nevers*. The Count, and two other Gentlemen, were in one Coach, his Secretary M. de St. *Florentin*, my self, and two others of his Attendants, in a second Coach, and he had nine Domesticks besides. We were eleven Days complete in reaching *Nevers*, which is accounted fifty eight Leagues from *Paris*. We rested three Days by reason of the Count's using some Waters in its Neighbourhood, which gave me an Opportunity of viewing the Place.

It is an ancient and no very large City, though a Bishoprick, and the Capital of a Dutchy, and of the Territory call'd *Nivernois*. The *Ducal Palace* is a very fine Structure, and was richly furnished, but the most remarkable Rarity in it is a curious Marble Table, not very large, but finely vein'd,

and, which is indeed surprising, perfectly transparent, either by Night or Day, for a Lamp being placed behind, may be distinctly seen through it. *Nevers* is likewise adorned with an ancient Cathedral dedicated to St. *Cyr*. There is also a Bridge over the *Loire*, which is very remarkable, consisting of no less than twenty Arches. *Nevers* was a County or Earldom under the first *French* Kings, and was first erected into a Dutchy by *Charles VII*. It passed afterwards into various noble Families, 'till at length it descended to the House of *Gonzaga*, from whom a little while ago the Cardinal Minister acquir'd it not with much Reputation, and hath procur'd it to be erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom in favour of his Nephew *Philip Mancini Mazarine*, a young Man who continues as yet unmarried.

FROM *Nevers* we proceeded in five Days to *Lyons*, which lies at the Distance of forty-five Leagues. This is beyond Comparison the pleasantest City in *France*, perhaps I should not err if I said in *Europe*. It differs from all the Places I ever beheld, inasmuch as it is agreeable to every Taste, having within its

its Walls all Things that can delight the Eye, or please the Imagination. Part of the City stands high, Part low. You may live on the Side of a River, or out of Sight of Water. Some of its Streets have all the Hurry of Business, others have magnificent Houses, and at very reasonable Prices, so situated as to have the Air of a magnificent Metropolis. And in the Skirts of this agreeable Place you may enjoy a rural Habitation, surrounded with Fields, Gardens, Vineyards, and yet at no great Distance from the Heart of the City ; surrounded as it is with Hills, it is continually warm, and as those Hills are extremely well cultivated, they afford the finest Prospect that can be imagined.

THE *Saone* passes through the City ; the *Rhosne* washes its Walls ; the Stone Bridge over the former consists of nine Arches, and is remarkable for the Cruelty exercised thereon by *Caligula*, who caused all such as disputed before him and did not prevail, to be thrown from thence into the River and drowned, as *Juvenal* informs us. The Bridge over the *Rhosne* is by far more remarkable ; indeed there are few which can be com-

pared with it, considering the Breadth and Rapidity of the River. It consists of twenty-six Arches, nineteen large, and seven small ones. The Beauty and Pleasantness of *Lyons*, though they are certainly very great, are not however its principal Advantages. Its Commodiousness for Trade deserves particular Attention. The *Rhône* affords an easy Passage to the Sea, and consequently opens a Gate to the *Mediterranean* Commerce, to that of *Africk* and the *Levant*. Twelve Leagues of Land-Carriage sends all Sorts of Merchandize to the *Loire*, whereby a Communication is acquired, not only with the most distant Provinces of *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, but also with *Britain* and the North. From *Montangis* Boats go through a little River into the *Seine*, and so to *Paris*. By this means *Lyons* is the Center of a prodigious Trade, continually filled with Foreigners, and inhabited by abundance of Artificers, and Mechanicks of all Sorts. They have here four free *Fairs* every Year, one, which may be called the first, at *Twelfth-tide*, the second at *Easter*, the third in *August*, and the last on the Day dedicat-  
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ed to the Memory of *All-Saints*. One principal Commodity at these Fairs is *Books*, the Number of which, without seeing them, it is impossible to have any Conception of.

THE Privileges bestow'd on this City for the maintaining and encreasing these Advantages are great ; and which is yet of more Consequence, well adapted. The Business of Exchange is wholly in the Hands of the *Florentines*, who are perfectly skill'd in that mysterious Branch of Traffick. The *Germans* have great Immunities, particularly this, that no Causes in which they are Parties can be drawn out of their own Courts, whether their Nature be civil or criminal. The Government of *Lyons* is by a *Provost des Marchands*, and four *Eschevins*, the latter chosen annually, the first once in two Years : When the *Eschevins* go out of Office, they are ennobled of course. All Causes are decided here very speedily, and at a small Expence, which is done in favour of Trade, and hath a mighty good Effect. The Town-house is a very elegant Fabrick, having before it a large square Piazza with a noble Fountain ; here all the City Courts are

are kept, and the publick Business transacted.

THE Cathedral, dedicated to St John, is a large venerable Pile, remarkable chiefly for its Clock, placed in a stately Tower, on the Top of which stands a Cock, which every Hour claps his Wings and crows twice; then an Angel comes out at a Door, which opens of it self, and salutes the Virgin *Mary*; at the same Time the Holy Ghost appears in the Form of a Dove; then a Figure, representing the Eternal Father, blesses her three Times. The Days of the Week are represented by seven Figures, each of which takes place in a Niche in the Morning of the Day it reprents, and continues there 'till the next Morning. But the greatest Singularity was newly put up, viz. an oval Plate marked with the Minutes of an Hour, which were exactly pointed to by a Hand reaching the Circumference, and which in its Revolution insensibly dilates and contracts it self; the Difference of the transverse, and conjugate Diameters being ten Inches, half of which consequently is the greatest Extension of this Hand.

It appears by an Inscription on the Clock it self, that it was repaired and improved by *William Nourison*, *Anno Dom. 1661.* but it was contrived long before his Time by *Nicholas Lipp*, a Native of *Basil*. The Report goes, that the Magistrates of *Lyons*, after he had finished this curious Machine, caused his Eyes to be put out, that he might never be able to perform the like; but this is an absolute Falshood, invented by the Mob to magnify their Clock. As to *Lipp*, the Magistrates engaged him to fix at *Lyons*, by allowing him a very considerable Salary to look after his own Machine, which he is said to have perfected at the Age of *Thirty*, or of *Thirty-two*, and in the Year 1598.

M. *S E R V I E R*, who invented the Minute-Motion I have described, lived at this Time in great Reputation at *Lyons*. He was in his younger Years an Officer in the Army, but all of a sudden quitted the Life of a Soldier and came to *Lyons*, where he gave himself up wholly to the Study of the Mechanicks. The common People believed him a second *Solomon*, and Persons of the best Sense admitted he had wonderful Abilities.

ties. As I was still a very young Man, I had not the Confidence to apply to him for a Sight of his Curiosities, because I heard he was an odd-temper'd Man, and not over-complaisant to Foreigners, unless they were Persons of very great Distinction.

I TOOK care however to find out a Person who had formerly liv'd with him, who gave me an exact Detail of all his Rarities, the most remarkable of which were these. 1. A flat Ruler lying on a Plane like one of our Crib-bidge Boards, mark'd with Hours, half Hours, and Quarters. The Hour of the Day or Night distinguished thereon by the Paw of a Mouse creeping forward, and returning backwards of its self. 2. A perpendicular Ruler mark'd in the same manner, the Time pointed out by a Lizard, ascending and descending. 3. A brazen Vessel with the Hours on the Sides ; this being fill'd with Water, an artificial Tortoise is put into it by any Spectator, which after turning several Times, points the exact Time of the Day. 4. Two Dials at a Distance from each other, yet the Hand of one being moved

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ed to any Hour, the Hand of the other was instantly moved to the same Hour of itself. 5. A perpetual Hour-Glass, which not only turns itself, but also changes in turning a brass Figure on its Top, shewing the Hour of the Day or Night. Most of these extraordinary Machines are thought to depend chiefly upon *Magnets* or *Load-stones*, properly disposed. I should not have mentioned them if I had not been persuad-ed, as well of the Possibility of such Performances, as of the Veracity of him who inform'd me.

AFTER eight Days Stay at *Lyons*, we set out for *Geneva*, where we arriv'd in three Days, having passed through a very indifferent Country, and seen in that Space the Territories of three inde-pendent States exclusive of *France*, viz. of the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Canton of Berne*, and Republick of *Geneva*.

ON my Arrival at *Geneva*, I met with Letters from M. *Fetherstone*, M. *de St. Dennis*, and my Uncle, all advising me to stay for some Time in that City, which of my self I was inclined to do, in Order to learn the *Italian* Language, to revive my Acquaintance with ancient Authors,

Authors, and to acquire some Knowledge of the Mathematics. It was no difficult Matter to settle here to my Contentment, the Inhabitants of *Geneva* having a great Regard for the *English*, on Account of their constant Correspondence with them since the Retreat of the Exiles thither, in the Reign of *Philip and Mary*. Besides Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and some other Persons of Distinction, having resided there lately, and my Letters being addressed to one of their Friends, I was presently settled in a Lodging, boarded in the same House, and recommended to the Professors of the several Sciences I intended to study, during my Stay there.

AT this Time the War broke out between *England* and *Holland*, usually call'd the first *Dutch* War. It appeared plainly enough, that the *Genevese* were more addicted to the *Dutch*, than to us, which I conceive to be owing to two Causes, their being under a Republican Government, and the *Dutch* having always shewn a warm Affection for the People of *Geneva*, especially testified by a new Bastion towards the *Rhosne*, the whole Expence of which was defray'd by the *States*.

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THE City of *Geneva* is as pleasantly situated as its Inhabitants can wish, surrounded by Mountains, which defend it from the *East* and *West* Winds, and by which as they have many openings on the *North* and *South*, the Inhabitants are prevented from being incommoded with a thick and moist Air. It is divided into two Parts by the *Rhosne*, that Portion which is on the other Side the River, is call'd the *Burgh* of *St. Gervase*. There is a fine Bridge over the River ; and on the Sides thereof, the most wholsome, as well as most agreeable Walks. The common Opinion is, that there is in this City between thirty and forty Thousand Inhabitants, and consequently about six Thousand capable of bearing Arms ; but those who have examined Things more closely, think there are not quite so many. In Point of Extent, it is not held to be above a third Part as large as the City of *Lyons*.

THERE is no Place in the World better served with Provisions than this ; they have good Wine, and cheap, excellent wild Fowl, and incomparable Fish ; particularly *Trout*, which many believe to be better, and larger, than are

are to be had in any other Part of Europe; whereas some affirm, there are larger in Germany: Certain it is, that the *Trouts* of Geneva weigh sometimes fifty Pounds, which are taken out of a kind of Weirs, placed in the River. The chief Church is that of St. Peter's, remarkable for two very large Bells, the largest requiring ten Men to toll it; in the Steeple of this Church there is a Watch set every Night, who, in Case of any Danger, alarm the Citizens, either by ringing a Bell, or discharging a Piece of Cannon, two small ones being placed on the Steeple for that Purpose. At each Gate of the City there is a Guard, and when it is set at Night, one of the Soldiers says Prayers. Besides these Guards, which are composed of the Garrison Troops, there are several Guards in the City of Burghers; neither are such Precautions taken without good Reason, since they are in the midst of Enemies; and so lately as 1602, in the Night of the 12th of December, the Duke of Savoy attempted to take the Place by Scalade, which he had infallibly done, if the Savoyard, who was to have fired the Petard, had not been kill'd in

in attempting to perform it. In the *Arsenal* they have Arms in constant readiness, for about five thousand Men, with eight Pieces of Cannon, and all necessary Ammunition. The scaling Ladders taken from the Duke of *Savoy's* Soldiers, with other Trophies of their Success on that Occasion, particularly the Arms of thirteen Men of Quality, who were taken and hanged, together with the *Petard* before-mention'd, yet undischarged, are shewn in the same Place.

THE established Religion of the State is *Calvinism*. The publick Worship in their Churches is very decent and regular; the Ministers pray either according to their own manner, or according to a certain Form which has been approv'd, tho' not imposed. In their Prayers they always mention the *French* King, the King of *England*, the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne*, the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States*. Every Day in the Week there is a Sermon at Seven in the Morning, except *Thursdays* and *Sundays*, when there are two, one at five, and the other at eight. The Ministers are very zealous, and sometimes inveigh bitterly against

the Corruptions of the Age in which they live. Amongst these they reckon Musick, Dancing, Shooting, and other Recreations, to which the young People constantly repair every *Sunday* in the Afternoon ; but it does not appear, that they have as great an Influence in this as in other Things ; for tho' the Ministers have long preached, yet the People continue to dance in spight of all that can be said to them.

**FOREIGNERS** have Monuments erected for them in the Churches of *Geneva* ; amongst others, in the Church of *St. Peter*, there is one for *Henry II. Duke of Roban*, which is very magnificent. In an old Cloister hard by, there is the Tomb of *M. de Aubigny*, of *Sir Roger Townsbend*, who died in 1647, and *Sir William Massbam*, Bart. who died A.D. 1662. But as for the *Genevese* themselves, they have no Monuments. The Grave of the great *Calvin*, having nothing to distinguish it from that of another Man. If any *Italian* Family embraces the Protestant Religion, they are readily received, and willingly accepted as Citizens of *Geneva* ; nay, there are some of their Pastors who have been *Popish*

*Popish* Priests and Jesuits ; of whom it is observed, that they are remarkably zealous in their Sermons, and speak with greater Vehemence against the Corruptions of the Romish Church, than any of their Brethren.

THE Clergy here are far from having as large Salaries as in other Places, and yet they labour almost beyond Measure ; besides daily Sermons, and Catechizings, other publick Exercises are expected from them ; and if a Man hath not a real Call, and consequently an unfeigned Affection to the Ministry, he must under this Character live but unhappily in *Geneva*, where not only the least Irregularity, but even a Suspicion of Lukewarmness, or Uneasiness, would infallibly destroy him.

My Stay at *Geneva*, tho' it wanted but little of Ten whole Years, was perfectly easy and pleasant to me. At first the extraordinary Gravity of the People gave me some Disquiet ; but by Degrees I began to consider it in quite another Light, and to perceive that what seemed an unnecessary and burthensome Austerity, was in Truth no more than the Effect of a serious Disposition, and a just

just Sense of the Duty incumbent on us in this Life, to act prudently and justly. This Composedness of Mind is only to be understood of the learned and better Sort of People, of whom, comparatively speaking, there are more here than in most other Cities; for as to the Commonalty, they differ little from those in *Savoy* or *France*. The generality of the *Geneveſe* use in common Conversation the *Savoyard* Dialect, but all Persons of Distinction speak good *French*. Among the *Italian* Families that Language is spoken; and there are many of these settled in *Geneva*, very considerable, on Account of their Antiquity and Fortunes: Such as the *Butini*, the *Cornelli*, *Diodati*, *Minutoli*, *Peliffari*, &c.

IMPROVED by the wise Discourses I daily heard, and encouraged by the Examples continually before my Eyes, I prosecuted my Studies with much Application, and began to form to myself a Resolution of leading a more regular and settled Life, than hitherto I had done. The Folly of rambling about the World, to gratify a Desire of seeing new Things, and hearing new Stories, appeared to me at this Time in so glaring a Light, that

I can scarce account for my relapsing so suddenly into that Passion for Novelty, which I had so justly discarded and despised. It may be that with Respect to his Manners, Man himself is a *Cameleon*, and having nothing permanent in his own Nature, easily receives from others that Colour with which Custom hath stained them, and as easily loses it when he changes Climate to receive another Tincture from the same Cause.

IN the Month of *August* 1664, we had an Account at *Geneva* of the Murder of Mr. *Lisle* at *Lausanne*, it happened thus : That Gentleman had been one of the King's Judges, and even an Assistant to Serjeant *Bradshaw*, who was President of the Assembly then called the *High Court of Justice*. He had withdrawn himself from his Countrymen, who lived in the Territory of the *Canton of Berne*, to the Place where he was murdered, on a Supposition, that those Assassins which had for some Time hovered on the Confines of *Switzerland*, were employed to dispatch General *Ludlow*, not having any Apprehension that his own Death was sought ; tho' no Man had been either deeper in the Measures

sures against the King or had expressed himself with greater Warmth against the *Royal Family*.

THE Wednesday preceding the Sunday on which he was kill'd, two Men pretending to be the Grooms of a German Officer of Distinction, came to the Town where General *Ludlow*, Mr. *Broughton*, and the rest of the *English* resided; but the Regency of *Berne* being entirely in their Interest, the Assassins thought fit to decamp, and to make the best of their Way to *Lausanne*. There they waited for an Opportunity of destroying Mr. *Lisle*, which they effected thus: They were informed that it was this Gentleman's Custom to go to the Church which stood near the Town Gate; one of the Assassins thereupon fixed himself early at the Church Gate, and having waited 'till all the People were gone in, he mutter'd to himself, *Le Bougre ne viendras pas, the Rascal don't come.* He then went to a Barber's, pretending to have the Tooth-ach, but turning his Head towards the Window, he saw Mr. *Lisle* had pass'd him, and was in the Church-yard alone; upon which he ran after him, pull'd out his Carbine, which

was

was flung under his great Coat, and being close to the unhappy Victim, shot him through the Back; the Piece recoiling he fell down himself, but getting up hastily, pull'd off his Hat, and swinging it round his Head cry'd, *God save the King.*

HE left his Gun behind him, and made the best of his way to his Companion, who waited hard by on Horseback, with another Horse ready bridled and saddled in his Hand. On this the Assassin mounted, and they both rode off without Molestation. It was reported that the Government of *Lausanne* were not very industrious in their Endeavours to seize these Murderers; but whoever is acquainted with *Switzerland*, must know that before the *Regency* could be well appriz'd of the Fact, Men so well mounted might be out of Reach; and it is certain, that not contented with having kill'd Mr. *Lisle*, they actually insulted and abused the *Regency of Lausanne*, as they rode through the Country.

IT was commonly reported, that these Men were commissioned from the *English* Court, to go and take off its Enemies in all Parts of the World; that in consequence of this Commission, one of them had actually murder'd, or at least despe-

rately wounded one Mr. *Ker* in *Holland*, who had betray'd some of the King's Secrets, and had attempted to shoot Col. *Algernoon Sydney*, on the Road to *Paris*. But People of moderate Sentiments, conceived that they were encouraged only by Queen *Henrietta Maria*, and her Daughter the Duchess of *Orleans*. This was the rather believ'd, because it was certainly known, that the very Man who kill'd Mr. *Lisle*, on his Return to *England* was forbid the Court, and died shortly after through Want and Despair.

THE other was advanced to a military Command, but it was in the *French Service*, and had Money given him, but not by the *English Court*. For this Cause the *English Gentlemen* who were Refugees in *Switzerland*, spoke with some Degree of Triumph, when in a short Space after the *Queen* died oddly at *Paris*, that is, by a Prescription of one of her Physicians. It was said she had a Cold, and that a gentle Opiat was ordered her, but either the Drug or the Dose was mistaken, for she never awak'd after taking it. The Wits at *Paris* did not fail to give their Sentiments on so extraordinary an Accident. Amongst the severall Pieces written upon this Occasion, the fol-

lowing Verses were held to be by far the most poignant ; and as they are exactly to my Subject, I have transcribed them.

*Le croirez-vous race future ;  
Que la Fille du grand Henry  
Eut en mourant meme avanture  
Que feu son Pere et son Mary ?  
Tous trois sont morts par assassin,  
Ravaillac, Cromvel, Medecin :  
Henry d'un coup de Bayonette,  
Charles finit sur un Billot,  
Et maintenant meurt Henriette  
Par l'Ignorance de Valot.*

The coming Age will it believe,  
Great Henry's Daughter could receive  
Her End, in the same fatal Way,  
Her Sire, and Spouse, did Death obey ?  
Will not its utmost Faith be try'd,  
When it is told they all *three dy'd*,  
By base *Assassins* ? — Ravaillac,  
The cruel *Cromwell*, and a Quack.  
Fatal to mighty *Henry's Life*,  
The bloody Villain's treach'rous *Knife*.  
*Charles* on a Block resign'd his Breath,  
\* *Valot* to *Henriet* gave Death.

F 2

BUT

\* The Name of the Queen's Physician.

BUT to pass from these melancholy Subjects, and to return to my own Affairs, and the natural Order of Time, which tho' distant some few Years, I have, for the Sake of Perspicuity, brought all together.

WHILE I remain'd in this City I frequently spent my Evenings with Mr. *Say* and Mr. *Melville*, the former a vehement Commonwealth's Man, the latter strictly attached to the Royal Cause, but Men who loved each other ; and though they generally differ'd in their Opinions, yet never grew angry, or transgressed in their Expressions the Bounds of Decency. I shall mention one of their Conversations for the Sake of a Fact not generally known. Mr. *Say* would frequently maintain that the War made by King *Charles* against the *Dutch* was ungrateful, because of the Assistance he had received, and the Kindness that had been shewn him from the *States*. He urged also, that it had been carried on unfairly on account of some secret Correspondence which his Majesty had kept up with Admiral *Trump*, and several other eminent Persons in the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which had been discover'd by a Spy putting into the

Hand

Hand of the *Pensioner de Wit*, a Letter from one of the King's Ministers instead of a Petition from himself, for which Mistake he paid with his Life, and Admiral *Trump*, and other Persons of Distinction, were removed from their Places.

MR. *Melville* observed that this War was entirely owing to the *Dutch* themselves; that in the War they carried on against the *Commonwealth of England*, they fought their own Cause, not the King's; that the Letter which occasion'd the Death of *Buat*, concerned solely the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, whose Advantage, the King was bound in Honour, Duty, and Interest, to promote. On the other hand, he alledged that the *Dutch* had encourag'd all that in them lay the Malecontents in *England*, to take up Arms, had actually concerted Measures for supporting a Rebellion in *England*, by an Invasion, and to that End had strongly solicited Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, and others, to come into *Holland*, in order to pass into *England* with a great Body of Foot.

MR. *Say* reply'd, that the Rules of War permitted all this, and that his Most *Christian Majesty* had as strongly

folicited General *Ludlow*, as the *States*, and even sent him a *Passport* that he might come safe to *Paris*. For my Part, these Facts made it clear to me, that *Princes* and *States* prefer their present Interests to all Things. In my Passage through *France* I had seen Oliver *St. John*, who had been Lord Chief *Justice* of the *Common Pleas* in the Time of the *Commonwealth*, and of *Cromwell*, treated with great Respect, though under the Name of Mr. *Montague*, while meaner People durst not shew their Heads, lest the *English* Minister should demand them; in which Case they would certainly have been delivered up. I have already taken Notice of the Terror that Cardinal *de Mazarin* was under with Respect to *Cromwell*. It seems from the following Instance, that either that, or a high Veneration for him, remained not only with the Cardinal, but his Successors in the Ministry after *Cromwell's* Death.

DURING his Protectorship, there happen'd a great Tumult at *Nismes*; the Papists had attempted to take from the Protestants the Right of chusing *Magistrates*, which the latter, rather than submit to, opposed Force to Force, and actually

actually drove the Papists out of the City, not without the Effusion of Blood. Upon this the *Cardinal Minister* caused great Bodies of Troops to march on all Sides towards the City. The Inhabitants perceiving that it would be impossible to defend the Place, began to consult about their own Safety. At length they resolved to send Dr. *Mullins*, a *Scotchman*, to the *Protector*, to intreat his Interposition.

*OLIVER* immediately gave Directions to his Secretary to write in the most pressing Terms on their Behalf to the *Cardinal*, and sent this Letter, with a Postscript, in his own Hand, which he added, to shew that he was really concern'd as to the Issue of the Business, by Dr. *Mullins*. The Doctor, like a faithful Agent, scarce took Rest or Refreshment 'till he came to *Lockart*, who was *Cromwell's* Minister at the Court of France. *Lockart* instantly carried him and the Letters he brought to the *Cardinal*, who on opening the Epistle address'd to himself, found the Postscript in these Words: *As you treat these Protestants, you have me a Friend, or an Enemy.* Upon which the *Cardinal* dispatch'd Orders for the Troops which were

marching towards *Nismes* to halt, and consented that the Affair should be amicably made up.

IT happened that this Dr. *Mullins* was in *France* while I was at *Geneva*; and the Ministry being apprehensive that if he returned into *England*, he might give a very disadvantageous Account of the State of Affairs in *Languedoc*, where the Protestants were generally disaffected, they clapp'd him up in the *Bastile*. A short Time after they offer'd him his Liberty, upon Security given that he would not leave *France*, which he alledg'd was utterly out of his Power. At length they discharg'd him without any Security, only they order'd him to quit the Kingdom in a Fortnight. Mr. *Melville* was well acquainted with this Gentleman and his Transactions : He was, it seems, a Man of great Intrepidity, and consequently a fit Engine for *Cromwell*.

FROM these Gentlemen, Mr. *Say* and Mr. *Melville*, I had it confirmed to me, what Mr. *Fetherstone* had often told me, that the *Protector* had the Confidence of the *English* Roman Catholicks, no les than that of the *French Hugonots*. He persuaded these People, I mean the *English* Roman Catholicks, that only under his

his Government they could be safe ; that if the *Commonwealth* was restored, they would be exposed to perpetual Harassments, if not to a general Banishment, and Confiscation of their Estates. As for his Part, he declared he hated no Man on the Score of his Religious Principles, but on the contrary, would defend all who lived quietly and peaceably under him.

He afterwards made Choice of one Sir Robert Talbot for his Agent, a moderate *Papist*, a Man who loved Peace and Quiet, and who thought it became People to submit to the Powers in Being. This Man accepted a Commission to go to the Court of *Rome*, whither accordingly he went, and by the Help of *Donna Olimpia*, insinuated himself into the good Graces of his Holiness, whom he informed that *Cromwell* was quite another Man than he had been represented ; that he was far from desiring to oppress, or hurt the *Catholicks* ; that he had no violent Aversion to the *Popish Religion* ; and that he was so far from having any Intention, as had been reported, to attack the *Pope*, by sending a Fleet on his Coasts, that he was desirous of living upon good Terms with his Holiness, and

of doing him good Offices in all the Courts of *Christendom*.

At Home he engaged Sir *Richard Willis* to give him exact Intelligence of all that passed in the Council settled by the King, consisting of the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Mordaunt*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, and *nine or ten* more, on a Promise that their Lives and Fortunes should remain untouched, which was however not over-well complied with. Sir *Henry Slingby*, and Dr. *Hewet*, who were of that Number, being executed in consequence of certain Distinctions which the *Protector* knew very well how to make, especially, considering that Sir *Richard* could not so much as expostulate with him. Such were the Arts of this Man, who from a private Condition, advanced himself to the Sovereignty in his own Country, and made himself as much considered throughout all the rest of *Europe*, as any other Sovereign in it.

When a little Relaxation from Study was necessary, and the fine Weather invited, I used to make Excursions either into *Savoy*, or into the Territories of the neighbouring Cantons, especially those of *Berne* and *Zurich*. In the former a very exemplary Piece of Justice was done

done on one *Dupré*, a *Savoyard*, who had attempted more than once to murder General *Ludlow*, and Mr. *Broughton*, at *Vevais*, as some of his Companions had done Mr. *Lille* at *Lausanne*. This Man was descended of a good Family, and had received a liberal Education; he had served as a Soldier with some Reputation, but was most abandoned in his Morals, dissolute in his Disposition, void of all Principles, without Pretence to Religion, a Gamester, Drunkard, and Bully.

ONE of his first Exploits was carrying off a young Woman who was Heiress of some Lands in the Territory of *Berne*, whom he married by Force. He next engaged himself with those People who came from *France* to destroy the *Regicides* in *Switzerland*, from whom he received considerable Sums of Money on Account of his exact Knowledge of the Country, and his great Adroitness in extricating himself and his Companions, when it appeared that their Expeditions had miscarried.

His Sister had married a Gentleman of Worth and Fortune, who more than once had saved him from Banishment or Imprisonment, which by a Variety of Crimes he had deserved. However, because

cause this Gentleman had once refused to lend him a Sum of Money, on Account of his having some Idea of the Use he intended it for, *Dupré* resolved to be revenged on him, which he effected thus.

He perswaded a Gentlewoman, with whom he was very familiar, to invite his Brother-in-law to her House, where he met him, begg'd his Pardon for what had pass'd, and having engaged him to drink a Bottle with him, he of a sudden pick'd a Quarrel, and having given his Brother such abusive Language as was not to be born, that Gentleman rose up hastily in order to go away. *Dupré*, who watched for this Opportunity, struck him under the Right Pap with a Dagger, and as he turn'd to defend himself, shot him into the Left Breast with a Pistol. Having perpetrated this horrid Murder, he caused some of his Dependents to take the Body in the Dead of the Night, and carry it a considerable Space; he then directed it to be laid down, and his People quarrelling over it in a high Tone, he at length discharged a Pistol, and left it and the Dagger by the dead Corpse; hoping that from these Circumstances it would be thought he was kill'd in a Fray at the Place where he was found.

His

HIS Artifice succeeded so well, tha  
t first he was not at all suspected, nor  
is it probable that the Truth had ever  
come out, if he had not brought it about  
by refining upon his former Scheme ;  
for after settling the Deceased's Affairs,  
and speaking upon all Occasions with the  
utmost Horror of his Aiffassination, he at  
length proceeded to offer a great Re-  
ward for discovering the Murderers.

THIS put many People upon enquir-  
ing into the Circumstances of the Fact,  
and at last he was cited to appear at  
*Chamberry*, to answer an Accusation pre-  
ferr'd against him upon this Head. His  
Courage fail'd him here, for instead of  
going to *Chamberry*, he withdrew out of  
the Dominions of *Savoy*, and retir'd to  
*Fribourg*. The Proces hereupon was  
quickly finished, his Estate confiscated,  
and himself condemned to be broke up-  
on the Wheel.

AT *Fribourg*, being exceedingly distressed  
for Money, he enter'd into new Schemes  
with some desperate Persons residing in  
*Burgundy*; in going to a Meeting which  
they had appointed, he was apprehended  
by a Party of Horse, sent for that Purpose  
from *Berne*, whither he was shortly af-  
ter conducted, and where a Proces be-  
ing

ing commenced against him for the Rape of his Wife, he was condemned to lose his Head. He little regarded this Sentence at first, believing, that as his Family was in good Circumstances, it would be bought off, but when he found that this was not to be done, but that die he must, he lost all Patience, Prudence, and even common Sense.

HE uttered bitter Execrations against the Lords of *Berne*; he refused to listen to the Ministers who came to pray with him; he would not go to the Place of Execution, but was dragg'd thither like a Dog. When he was on the Scaffold, he stamp'd and beat his Breast like a Madman, 'till at length his Hands being tied between his Legs, and himself held down upon his Breech, the Executioner struck off his Head. It was hoped that this Execution would have tamed People of this Stamp for the future, but it did not, many of *Dupré's* Associates continuing to use the same Trade, which is but too commonly practised in *Italy*.

As to the City of *Berne*, it is not very large, but wonderfully fortified by Nature, being almost surrounded by the River *Aar*, which at once renders it safe  
and

and pleasant. Over this River there is a fine Stone Bridge, and the Country about it is carefully cultivated. *Lausanne*, which also belongs to this *Canton*, is a very considerable Place, though very oddly situated, occupying the Slope of two Hills and the Valley between them. The rest of the Territory of *Berne* is full of large Burghs and populous Villages, in the Neighbourhood of which there is great Abundance of Corn, as well as of good Wine; Liberty and Industry being the grand Characteristicks of the Inhabitants of this, and of the rest of the Protestant *Cantons*.

*ZURICH* is the most considerable Place in *Switzerland*, and therefore deserves to be the more exactly described. It stands at the Bottom of the great Lake which divides it in two, Part lying on one Side, and Part on the other. Both joined together by three Bridges, one of them so large as to admit of an Herb-Market upon it. There are abundance of Goldsmiths, Paper-Makers, Dealers in Cloth, Makers of Wicker-Ware, &c. in this Place, where Young and Old work hard for their Livings, and where Idleness is not only punished with Infamy, but with Imprisonment: Peace and Plenty

Plenty always abound. The City is well fortified, and every Citizen is at Liberty to wear a Sword.

HERE are two Councils, a Council of fifty, and a greater Council of *two hundred*. It is impossible for People to live with greater Unity amongst themselves, or with more Decorum, than the Inhabitants of Zurich do, either in temporal or spiritual Concerns. In their Churches a Psalm is first sung; then the Minister prays, being habited in a Gown with a Cap upon his Head, which however he puts off while he prays; then he gives out the Text, preaches a full Hour, then makes a concluding Prayer, after which another Psalm is sung, and so the Service ends. One Thing is very remarkable, that tho' they are zealous *Calvinists*, yet they bow very reverently at the Name of *Jesus*. It is generally believed that Zurich is three times as big as Geneva; the Houses are many of them of Stone, with Portico's before them, and the publick Buildings are remarkably neat, and perfectly well kept in Repair. The neighbouring Country abounds with Corn, Wine, Fruits, &c. and the Lake, together with the River *Limagis*, furnishes it with excellent Fish.

As to the *Swiss* in general, though they are somewhat rude in their Manners, yet they are naturally honest, open, and sincere. It is said that their Virtues are liable to Injury from Travelling; for it is observed that in Foreign Service, the *Swiss* are crafty, avaricious, and a little inclin'd to Mutiny; whereas at home they are very patient and submissive. It is morally certain, that their Country in the Hands of other Inhabitants would be but a very indifferent Place, whereas by their Industry and Frugality, it is made to furnish not only the Necessaries, but the Conveniences of Life. By Frugality I mean, that Sparingness which is observable amongst them in Regard to Clothes and Household Furniture, wherein Usefulness and Cleanliness are only expected; for as to Beauty and Magnificence, they are not affected with them, even where it is in their Power. As to their Table it is otherwise; they love to eat and drink well and plentifully, especially the latter, which sometimes they push to Excess, the Love of Liquor being their greatest Vice. They are hardy, courageous, extremely capable of military Discipline,

cipline, War being a Trade to which they are all bred.

IN the Cities there are, generally speaking, more Men than Women, on Account of the Manufactures that are carried on; in the Country again there are more Women than Men; the former are no less industrious than the latter: They do not spare for Pains or Labour in such Business as they are able to execute; and as to the Care of their Families, the Women in no Part of the World excell them; for they are very affectionate to their Husbands, and very tender towards their Children, whom they do not suffer however to grow up in a Course of Idleness, but take Care to teach them to do somewhat for their Bread, as soon as their Strength and Capacities will permit them. What I have said relates to the Protestant Cantons only, for as to the Popish, I had not Occasion to visit them; but I believe the Inhabitants do not differ much in their Manners. As to the Government of this Country, I shall speak of it when I come to mention my leaving *Geneva*, having taken some Pains to make myself Master of the several Particulars relating thereto.

DURING

DURING the whole Time of my Residence at *Geneva*, my Letters came regularly both from *England* and *France*, 'till toward the latter end of the Year 1665, that I heard no more from M. *St. Dennis*. About three Months after, Mr. *Fetherstone*, whose Affairs had call'd him into *Lorrain*, returned into *Normandy*, and gave me an Account that our Friend, after first suffering by a partial Palsey, which took from him the Use of one Side, died extremely lamented by all who knew him. He had the Precaution the Day after he was first taken ill, to place the little Sum of Money I had left in his Hands, in the Hands of Mr. *Hay*, a Scotch Factor at *Bourdeaux*, who happened to be at *Roan*, and who advised me of the Death of M. *de St Dennis*, and of his having *five hundred* Crowns of mine in his Hands, three or four Days after Mr. *Fetherstone's* Letter came to Hand.

IT is impossible to express the Concern which the News of this old Gentleman's Death gave me : He was a Man of singular good Sense, and of the highest Probity ; one who had lived long enough in Courts to detest them, and who knew perfectly well how to enjoy that Repose, with

with which Providence blessed him in his declining Years.

As he had received great Favours from the *Marshal de Ancre*, while he was the Favourite of the Queen and of Fortune, he spoke of him always with much Tenderness. He commended his Affability and Sweetness of Temper, towards his Friends and Domesticks ; his pleasant and familiar Manner of conversing with them, and his Readiness to serve them. He observed that the *Marshal* was not mistaken in Those whom he honoured with his Confidence ; for that the Marshal Duke *de Eustre*, the *Marshal Hocquincourt*, and the *Marshal de Baffompiere*, were his firm Friends to the last ; he had however Vices more than sufficient to bring upon him the Misfortunes which crush'd him in the End : He was a Man of excessive Vanity, addicted to the amassing of Money by any Means, as also to the making an immoderate Display of it. His Ambition had no Bounds, yet he had the Address to conceal it, declining ever to be admitted of the King's Council, and affecting not to enquire into Matters of State, though nothing relating to them was transacted without his Knowledge.

The

The King always hated him, and the *Marshal* was not ignorant of it, but fondly hoped to overcome his Aversion by his Complacencies, and by his affecting to render him all personal Services in his Power, which however had no Effect.

It hath been much doubted, whether by his Birth he was a Gentleman ; and the same Thing hath been said of his Wife. The *Italians*, who ought to know best, affirm, that they were of mean Parentage ; and yet nothing is more certain, than that their Names, *Concini*, and *Galigai*, speak them of noble Families, as appears from all the Histories of *Florence*. To solve this Difficulty, it is alledged that the *Marshal* assumed the Name of *Concini*; that the Name of his Wife was really, *Dofi*; and that her Father being a very rich *Miller* when he left off his Trade, procured the Family of *Galigai* to acknowledge him for their Relation, and to permit him to bear their Arms.

HOWEVER, the Stations in which they both appeared in the beginning of their days seem to speak these Suggestions Calumnies. It was by the ascendency which his Wife had over the Queen her Mistress, that the *Marshal de Ancre* arrived

at

at such excessive Wealth, and at so exorbitant a Pitch of Grandeur ; and as she was the Foundress of his Fortune, so if he had taken her Advice, she would have preserved him, herself, and their Family, from the Mischiefs that befell them. They lived in the Midst of Wealth, Power, and Splendour ; not only in perpetual Anxiety and Uneasiness, from the open Testimonies of Hatred, which the People bestowed very liberally upon them ; but were also, on account of Family Differences, continually quarrelling at home.

THE Grand Dutchess of *Tuscany* had once the Goodness to send the *Marshal* a Message to this Purpose : *That since the Winds grew high, and the Waves began to roll, he would do well to think of steering into some Port.* To which the Marshal answered, *That while his Vessel went before the Wind, he was resolved to keep out at Sea, and to push his good Fortune to its utmost Extent.* In this he really spoke as he thought, for at other Times, out of an Affection of Moderation, he would speak of retiring, as a Thing which of all others he sought most, and that he was impeded therein by the Obstinacy

stiancy of his Wife ; whereas in Truth, she daily solicited him thereto.

AT last, many Circumstances concurring, his Ruin was determined. The King intended by his Destruction to make the first Essay of his Power, and to assert what to him appeared the choicest Jewel in his Crown, *an absolute Authority*. His favourite *Luynes* eagerly desir'd to succeed in the *Marshal's Place*, and to enrich his Family by the Confiscation of the Favourite's Effects. *Vitry*, the Captain of the Guards, was the Man made choice of to perform this extraordinary Act, of staining the Royal Palace with Blood, which he readily accepted, in hopes of acquiring thereby a Marshal's Staff. Without Question, if this Affair had taken Air, the whole Plot would have been defeated, the whole Power being as yet in the Hands of the *Queen*, and her Favourite.

THE King, though a young Man, behaved with profound Dissimulation ; the Terror of a Miscarriage kept *Luynes* perfectly silent, but *Vitry* had the Imprudence to acquaint his Mistress with it the Evening before ; happy for him that she had less of female Loquacity, than

than he of manly Prudence, otherwise this Schenie had never taken Place, as it did on the 24th of April 1617, when *Vitry* stabb'd the *Marshal* in the *Louvre*. This extraordinary Step was immediately followed by others ; the Queen was removed and confined ; the *Marshal's* Wife sent Prisoner to the *Bastile*, and so totally deserted that she had not so much as Change of Linnen there, 'till she procured from some of the Keepers, a couple of ready-made Shifts, which cost a Crown. She behaved however with great Courage and Intrepidity ; and when she was brought before her Judges to answer a long Charge, consisting of Variety of Crimes, at the Head of which were *Sorcery* and *Magick*, on a Supposition that she had bewitched the Queen ; she could not help crying out, *Alas ! what Witchcraft ! I governed her by the Superiority of my Genius. What Miracle was it that a Woman of Wit, should influence one who bad none ?*

HOWEVER, she was condemned to lose her Head at the *Place de Grave*, and her Body to be afterwards burnt, which was executed ; and all the Estates which she and her Husband had possessed were confiscated, amounting, as some say, to *half a Million.*

*Million Sterling.* The only Son of the *Marshal d'Ancre* continued for some Years a Prisoner, but being at length discharged, retired to *Florence*, where he possessed Estates of the Value of *twenty thousand* Crowns a Year, 'till the Plague carried him off in the Prime of his Age. It is pretended that the *Marshal d'Ancre* sought to make himself a sovereign Prince; First, by Purchase from the *Pope* of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and afterwards by seeking to get the County of *Montbeliard* erected into an independent Principality; however, both his Designs mis-carried.

It is said that when the *Marshal* was one Day presling the Queen earnestly upon these Points, and her Majesty seemed inclin'd to comply with his Requests, the *Marshal's* Wife could not refrain from saying: *Madam, you approve too easily whatever Projects this Fool forms, and in the End his Vanity and Self-Conceit will ruin us all.* This Sentence doth not want Spirit, Sense, and Loyalty, but at the same time it is a full Proof of that Contempt of her Husband which must have made her a very bad Wife. A complaisant Disposition attones for many Faults; but I confess I know not what Virtues

can compensate for the Want of such a Disposition.

My long Residence at *Geneva* had, as I have observed, a great Influence on my Temper and Manner of living ; I was no longer possessed with a Spirit of Rambling, but, on the contrary, followed my Studies close, conformed myself to the Manners of the People among whom I lived, and took a great deal of Pleasure in making myself acquainted with the Manufactures carried on there. It so happened that one Mr. *Roland*, a Jeweller, or rather a Lapidary, lodged at the next Door ; he was a Man very well skill'd in his Business, and had spent the Prime of his Years in the *Levant*. With this Man I frequently conversed, and as he was very frank and communicative, I learned from him abundance of Things relating to his Trade. It so fell out, that by reason of some Disappointments he was greatly straitned, and his Credit in the utmost Danger. Out of this Difficulty I extricated him, and thenceforward he scarce kept any of his Secrets from me.

His principal Art lay in tinging Crystals after they were cut, and in forming *fætitious* Stones which in their Appearance

ance fell very little short of those esteemed precious, especially of the *Opaque* kind. Though I had not the least Idea of profiting by these Lights, yet I often amused myself with Experiments in this Way ; and as I spared neither Labour nor Cost, by degrees I succeeded as well as my Master. Mr. *Roland*, far from being displeased, assisted me all he could, explained to the utmost of his Ability the Nature of *Gems*, and particularly of coloured Stones, which he best understood. To what I learned from Mr. *Roland*, I joined what I could discover on the same Subjects from those who were skill'd in Natural Philosophy, and from such Persons of Taste as had Cabinets, and were curious as to the History of the remarkable *Jewels* which they had in their Custody. I likewise went through a Course of Chemistry, procured all the Books I could hear of relating to precious Stones, and began myself to make a little Collection of Rarities by way of Amusement.

My Man *Johnson* was at first a little out of humour at the Trouble my new Employment gave him ; but by degrees he began to have a Relish for it, and was at last never better pleased than when

G 2 employ'd

employ'd in the Experiments I was daily making. All this Time I proceeded with my respective Masters, and acquired so strong a Relish for the Sciences, that I had no further Thoughts of an active Life. But as Time and Chance have Dominion over all Men, so it was not long before they exerted their Sovereignty over me, and so effectually changed the Face of my Affairs, and at the same time altered so entirely my own Temper, that never were two Men more unlike each other, than I in my succeeding Years to myself while at Geneva.

In the beginning of the Year 1669, Mr. Fetherstone acquainted me with the Death of my Uncle, which happened suddenly, so that he left his Affairs in the greatest Confusion. He had two Sons, of whose Education he had taken all imaginable Care, and yet with very little Success. The eldest of them knowing, that at all Events he should inherit his Mother's Jointure, became a downright rural 'Squire, conversed more with his Dogs than his Neighbours, and lived the Year round in a State between drunk and sober. His Father dying without a Will, at least that could be found, he took Possession of his real Estate, and made

made over all Claim to what there might be of personal to his younger Brother.

THIS young Spark was quite of another Cast ; he had been bred at *Venice*, where he had acquired abundance of *Italian Art*, and where, if ever he had any, he left all his Stock of *English Propriety*. When Mr. *Fetherstone* first wrote to him on my Concerns, he pretended an absolute Ignorance of them. He could not apprehend how any Mr. *Brown* should stand in so near a Relation to him; alledged that his Father's Accompts were in bad Order, and that he did not know whether his *Effects* would answer the Demands which had already been made upon him. After six or seven Months writing to and fro, he at length wrote Mr. *Fetherstone*, that he had found a *Memo-randum* in his Father's Pocket-Book, purporting his Intention to remit five hundred Crowns to Mr. *Brown* at *Geneva*, in full of all his Demands, of which he desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to inform me ; as also that he had remitted that Sum to Mr. *Hales* at *Venice*, who would pay it to me or my Order, on my signing such Discharges as he had taken care to transmit to the same Person.

I easily understood whereto all this tended, and saw clearly my own Folly in leaving *thirteen hundred* Pounds in my Uncle's Hands. The Mortgage I had was in the Name of *Brown*, for I had been out-lawed during the first *Dutch War*, when it was thought necessary to proceed with the utmost Severity against all who had been any way concerned in the Protector's Government. Thus in an Instant I lost a comfortable Estate, and was left to look about me with no other View of a Subsistence, than what could be drawn from the small Stock of between *three and four thousand* Crowns, and the Effects which I still had in *France* and *Italy*. One Advantage I had in the midst of these cross Accidents, viz. my Credit, which the Transactions I had had with my Uncle, Mr. *Fetherstone*, Mr. *St. Dennis*, and Mr. *Hales* at *Bourdeaux*, and other Merchants, had rendered pretty extensive : So that if I had been at this Time acquainted with the Method of carrying on any sort of Traffick, I might either have done pretty well at *Geneva*, or might have removed to *Leghorn*, and have settled there with a tolerable Prospect.

BUT

BUT as I had made Books so long my Study, all the Profit I reaped from them was to know that they could now be of very little Service ; and as I was sensible that the disclosing my Affairs might be attended with infinitely more Prejudice than Advantage, I did not think proper to make at this Time any such Inquiries as would have tended to the opening a Passage to a new Scene of Life, which nothing but Necessity could have prompted me to think of, and which Necessity was of all Reasons in the World the most unfit to be assigned to those I must have consulted. It remained therefore thoroughly to consider Things in my own Breast, and after mature Consideration immediately to put in Practice such Resolutions as Reason dictated.

THE first Thing I did was to send *Johnson* to *Venice*, with Orders to bring me Copies of the Papers transmitted to Mr. *Hales*, to whom I wrote in the most respectful Manner. While the Servant was gone upon this Errand, I spent almost all my Time at Mr. *Roland*'s, where our Conversation turned chiefly on the Trade he had carried on in the *Levant*. He acquainted me with the Genius and Temper of the People ; the Jewels which

they most affected ; the Method of dealing with them ; the Manner of travelling in Caravans ; the necessary Precautions against such Accidents as Strangers were most liable to ; the Means of dealing with *Jews*, *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and other Christians, together with the Arts of concealing Things of Value, and avoiding those Snares which Governors, military Officers, and petty Princes, make use of in order to plunder Travellers and Merchants. From these Inquiries I derived much Information, and as I was not over-sleepy in the Night, I diverted myself with writing in my Journal my Questions to Mr. *Roland*, and his Answers, and when I had so done, I drew out in my Pocket-Book a new List of Questions for the next Day.

I did not at this Time apprehend that these Remarks would at any Time be of Service farther than to divert me ; but when I afterwards experienced many Advantages from them, I took a liking to the Method, and pursued it all my Life. One Thing Mr. *Roland* over and over insisted on, viz. That whoever intended to travel amongst the *Turks*, *Persians*, or other Oriental Nations, ought by all Means to make himself Master of the

Art

Art of *Physick*, a *Science* little understood, and consequently wonderfully admired by these Nations. As the present Disorder of my Mind hindered me from applying to my usual Studies, I made Choice of some Books of Travels, which I read with great Avidity, and perceiving from them how necessary good Maps were, I made the best Collection I could in that Way, and had them bound so as to roll in a leather Case, which lying in a small Compass, might be conveniently carried without any Danger of spoiling them.

THUS, without intending to travel, I furnished myself with the Requisites for a distant Voyage. On this I have sometimes reflected with Wonder, but I think I can now discern that there was nothing in it strange at all. A Man disordered in his Mind never acts rationally, and therefore when he comes afterwards coolly to consider his own Conduct, he takes the Effects of his own Passions for Things supernatural, and would fain introduce Fate to take the Blame of his Folly. Thus Self-Love bubbles us when we are not upon our Guard, and when we are, attempts to perfwade us that we were bubbled by something else.

THE first News I received from *Johnson*, was, that he had received a very short Answer from the Merchant, and that he was fallen sick at *Venice* of an Ague, which rendered it impossible for him to travel. The Day after I received another Letter from a Merchant at *Roan*, with Advice that Mr. *Fetherstone* had failed, and was gone off. Both these Accidents gave me inexpressible Concern. I was forced to remit Money to *Venice* for the use of *Johnson*; I was much at a Loss for him to divert my Melancholy; for as he was a Man of Sense, and ten Years older than I, he was become a Sort of Companion, and indeed the only Companion I had. With respect to Mr. *Fetherstone*, my Grief was equal for his Misfortune and my own, above a third Part of the little Fortune I had being in his Hands.

HOWEVER, my Apprehensions with respect to him were quickly lessened, by a Letter inclosed in one from Mr. *Hales*, signifying that his Losses would not at all affect me, all my Effects being in the Hands of them on whom he could depend, and who would shortly remit them to Mr. *Hales*. *Johnson* continued five Weeks ill at *Venice*, and was at last cured

cured by the Surgeon of an *English* Ship by Vomits only. As soon as the Surgeon told him it was safe for him to travel, he set out for *Geneva*; and though he informed me of the Day of his Departure, he surprized me very much by his Arrival, which was four Days sooner than I expected. He told me that Mr. *Hales* had shewn him the Writings which he apprehended to be Releases in the most ample Forms, but that he had refused to let him have any Copies of them, and said, that if Mr. *Brown* did not think fit to sign them, he might let it alone. After we had talk'd over some other Affairs that I had entrusted him with, and had received all the Intelligence he could give, we began to let Matters rest, and from talking of *Venice*, turned our Thoughts to our Affairs in *England*, *France*, and *Geneva*.

ONE Evening, when we were deeply engaged in discussing Mr. *Fetherstone's* Affair, *Johnson* started up of a sudden, and with an Air of Surprize cried out, *Lord! Sir! I forgot to tell you that Mrs. Lucia — is at Venice.* At first I was so much confounded, that I did not make him an Answer; at last, contrary to my Custom, I flew into a violent Passion,

fion, upbraided him with Stupidity, and want of Thought, in not telling me before ; to which the Man very innocently answered, That it was twenty to one, considering his Sicknes, and the many Things he had upon his Head, that he remember'd it at all. However, I could not get him to any Temper that Night, and therefore went early to Bed, where I spent the Night without Sleep, endeavouring to find what it was that had put me so much out of my ordinary Road.

I was once or twice going to call *Johnson* up, but reflecting that the Man would believe I was absolutely mad, I desisted ; and at last, when it grew light, fell asleep, and did not wake 'till *Johnson* came into the Room, to tell me it was eight o'Clock, and consequently above two Hours later than I was wont to rise.

WHEN I had dressed myself, I did not, as my manner was, go out ; but having called *Johnson* into the Room, talked to him of indifferent Things, in Order to lead him to speak again of his Stay at *Venice*. But it fell out with me, as I believe it does with most Men, when under the Influence of their Passions ; all I gain'd by my Arts, was to amuse and deceive myself, for before we had talked

a Quarter of an Hour, *Johnson* return'd very bluntly to the Point I aimed at, thus : I can now, Sir, very readily account for the Passion you were in last Night, as soon as I reflected on the manner Mrs. *Lucia* was spirited away from her Father's, and how briskly you there-upon rode to your Uncle's, the Secret was out, and I perfectly convinced, that I should have done better if had spoke of Mrs. *Lucia*, before I had given you an Account of your Busines ; and perhaps it would have been best of all, if I had been wise enough to have forgot I had seen her.

WHEN I found, that Circumspection and Circumlocution signified nothing, I came as roundly to the Thing as he, acknowledged that I had an extraordinary Concern, as to every thing which related to this Lady, and desired to know, how she came to *Venice*, and in what manner she liv'd there. Sir, answer'd *Johnson*, I should be glad if my Intelligence furnished me with a Power of making you satisfactory Answers ; all I can tell you I will, and assure you with great Sincerity, that if while I remained at *Venice*, it had come into my Mind, that the Affairs of Mrs. *Lucia* had so

near

near a Relation to yours, I should not have spared any Pains to have been better informed about them ; but as I had then no such Thoughts you, must be content with receiving from me, what by meer Accident I came to know. One Day when I went to receive the Money you were pleased to remit me, I happened, as I was going out of the Merchant's House, to meet Mrs. *Lucia* ; she knew me sooner than I did her, called me by my Name, and asked me, if you were in *Venice* ; I told her you were not ; she said, she had been there three Years, and never had been able to hear a Word of you ; the Cause of which I readily apprehended to be your going by your Mother's Name. I promised her to call the next Day ; but having only that Time to provide for my Journey, my Head was so occupied with other Things, that I really thought no more of Mrs. *Lucia* till last Night ; so that if I have committed any Fault thro' Indiscretion, I hope my telling you plainly the Truth will make some Atonement for an involuntary Error.

It would have been very happy for me, if I had thought as wisely as my Servant; but who ever does so that is under the Dominion of Passion ? From the very Moment

Moment we had this Discourse, I began to frame a Project of going to *Venice*, with no other View certainly than to see *Lucia*; and yet I had not Courage enough to avow this, but began to reason with *Johnson* on Mr. *Hales's* Conduct, and to drop some Hints, that very possibly I might be able to bring him by Discourse, to think better upon this Head.

AFTER several Conversations upon this Subject, perceiving what I said made *Johnson* very thoughtful and uneasy, I pressed him to speak his Sentiments freely and candidly ; and at last he did so. I have been about you, Sir, said he, ever since you were a Child, and when I was very little more myself ; you have had a great many Difficulties to go through, and you have, blessed be God, gone through them very happily. Your Conduct hath hitherto been so right, that I never presumed to question it ; but you are of late so much altered, have such nice and odd Notions, that I find myself absolutely obliged to impart to you out of your own Stock, and to offer to you the best Advice I can, from the Principles you have heretofore taught me.

As to Mr. *Hales*, he is a Man of an inflexible Temper, swallowed up in Business,

finess, and will no more enter into the History of your private Concerns, than he would pay you the five hundred Ducats upon an Uncertainty. To make the Persuasion of this Man the Motive of your Journey, therefore, would be a perfect Chimera; indeed if you settle your Affairs here, I should think you might as well reside at *Venice*, as any where else, or rather better; but to be making Journies to and fro, will answer no Purpose, but that of running into a large Expence, which is worse than none.

As soon as I had extorted from *Johnson* this plain and honest Judgment of my Affairs, the next thing I did was, to seclude him from my Counsels, and to resolve with great Secrecy and much Diligence, to prosecute, as far as in me lay, the Ruin of my Fortune, which was already in a bad Train. I found out, by the Means of Mr. *Roland*, a Gentleman who had very considerable Concerns with Mr. *Hales*, and from him I procur'd Letters of Recommendation, signifying that I had resided several Years at *Geneva*, had lived like a Man of Probiety, on whose Word he might depend. From this Gentleman also, I took Bills on Mr. *Hales*, for upwards of a hundred Pounds

Pounds Sterling ; I likewise provided some Jewels, and having taken all the necessary Care for travelling with the utmost Expedition, the Morning before I was to set out, I acquainted *Johnson* with my Resolution, and at the same time told him, that I should leave all my Concerns in his Hands, and did not at all doubt his taking a proper Care of them.

THE Man seemed, as well he might, amazed at so odd and sudden a Step ; but when he had recover'd himself a little, he said it was the first Time that he obeyed *me* with Reluctance ; and that he should be glad that I took as much Care of my own Affairs at *Venice*, as he would be sure to take of all entrusted with him at *Geneva*. This said, he immediately dispatched whatever was requisite for me to have with me in this Journey, such as Cloaths, Linen, &c. with a Care and Alacrity, which rather gave me Pain than Satisfaction.

THE next Day I set out, but my Mind was so much distracted, and my Head so confused, that I made no manner of Observation of Places, Persons, or Things ; and had much ado to regulate even the necessary Concerns in my Passage ;

fage ; so much was I taken up with a Desire of reaching a Place, where, properly speaking, I had no very great Busines.

AT last I arrived at *Padua*, where, in respect to my Health, I ought to have continued for some Time, having felt the first Attacks of an Ague, which visited me more rudely at *Venice*. However, I remained in this famous City and University but three Days, the first of which was far spent when I arrived, and on the last I was not able to travel. The fourth in the Morning, I set out for *Venice*, where the Difficulties I met with in going ashore, partly through my own Inadvertency, and partly through the unnecessary Niceness of the Officers of Health, vexed me not a little, and contributed to make the next Fit of my Ague more violent.

As soon as I was at Liberty to go to the Factory, I did make shift to go first to Mr. *Hales* about Busines, and then to the Merchant's House where *Lucia* dwelt. At the first I met with better Treatment than I expected ; when I came to explain myself upon the Reasons of not signing the Papers, Mr *Hales* would have excused himself from hearing

ing any thing, but when I promised to be concise, and had entered a little into my Story, he said I had been hardly used, desired to see me some other Time, and promised he would think of some Method to serve me. *Lucia* was exceedingly surprized at the Sight of me, and tho' the great Errand I had at *Venice* was to see her, I was much more so at the Sight of her.

It happened luckily that there were no Spectators at this Interview, which when she came to herself, the Lady desired might be short, advised me in a Day or two to go and lodge at a certain Place where she promised I should see her, and hear from her a very singular Account of what had happened to her since our parting. In Compliance with her Request, I presently took my Leave, and returned to the Place where I lodged for the present, which I found to be very little distant from the Dwelling of an *English* Statuary, at whose House *Lucia* had desired me to take Lodgings. I was at first thinking to have sent for this Person, in order to have told him, that as I was much indisposed, and had some Matters of Consequence to transact at *Venice*, I should be glad to live in an

*English*

*English House* for many Reasons. But reflecting that *Lucia* could not direct me to this Man's House without having some Knowledge of the Person who kept it, I judged it would be better to let it alone to the next Day, that in the intermediate Space, she might, if she thought proper, give the Man some Intimation of it.

In this for once I judged right, for having the next Day, about Noon, sent for Seignior *Bushell*, and acquainted him what my Businels was, he presently told me, that the Lady had spoke to his Wife upon this Head ; and that in two or three Days, an Apartment should be fitted up for me, and he would do his best to make all Things as commodious as possible. In the Interim I received a Letter from Mr. *Fetherstone*, inclosed in one from *Jabnson*, in which he informed me of a very extraordinary Accident which had happened to our Friend M. *d'Aulnoy*.

THE Marquiss *de Courboyere*, M. *la Mouisiere*, and M. *Lamiere*, three Normans, the two first Men of Family, and who had lived in Friendship with M. *d'Aulnoy*; the last Man in bad Circumstances, but who had a good Reputation, conspired

conspired the Destruction of this unfortunate Gentleman ; the former out of Pique, the latter for a Reward of a thousand Crowns, half of which he had received : The Method agreed on was, to charge M. *d'Aulnoy* with Treason, which accordingly was done, and the Matter so cunningly managed, that tho' the Facts were absolutely false, yet the innocent Gentleman was on the very Point of being condemned : Then it was that *Lamiere*, a Stranger to him in Comparison to the other, began to relent ; however, Fear got the better of his Honesty, and he held his Tongue till M. *d'Aulnoy* was condemned to lose his Head, till the Priest had confessed him, and till he saw his Grave dug.

HE then followed the supposed Criminal into the Presence of his Judges, who were met to examine him before his Execution. There *Lamiere* fell down on his Knees, confessed his Perjury, and charg'd his two Associates, who were likewise present, with the Conspiracy, of which he gave such authentic Proofs, that M. *d'Aulnoy* was immediately discharg'd. The Marquis *de Courboyere* was a few Days afterwards executed on the Scaffold erected for the Execution of M. *d'Aulnoy*,  
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on which the Day following *la Mouisiere* suffered. *Lamiere* was present at both these Executions ; after the last, he knelt down near the dead Body, and the Executioner having passed his Sword over his Head, he was set at Liberty. A most signal Deliverance this from a double Execution of the Body and of the Reputation. What the Motive of this Conspiracy was, or whether any more than M. *d'Aulnoy* were comprised therein, I could never learn. As to his own Affairs, Mr. *Fetherstone* acknowledged, they were in very bad Order, but assured me, my Money was safe, and that I might command it when I pleased.

THE Day before I was to go to Mr. *Bushell's* the Statuary, I went again to wait on Mr. *Hales*, who told me he had reflected on what I said, and by comparing it with certain Circumstances, within the Compass of his own Knowledge, was fully convinced it was true. He added, that he was sorry a Gentleman who had been bred at *Venice* should act after such a manner ; and that if I remained a few Months there, he would endeavour to procure me Satisfaction. He would have paid the Bills I brought with me from *Geneva*, tho' they were

not due ; but I declined it, having no immediate Occasion for Money.

He advised me to be careful of my Health, and not to suffer myself to be corrupted by the Pleasures of *Venice*.

AFTER Dinner I went to see a Play, which did not entertain me near so much as I expected. To have a relish for *Italian Comedy*, a Man must not only understand *Italian*, but be also thoroughly tinctured with their Manners, otherwise the pert Jokes, the obscene Jests, and that sort of manual Wit with a wooden Sword, which is there so much in Fashion, amounts to nothing. The *English Comedy*, especially as manag'd by *Johnson* and *Fletcher*, is infinitely superior to any thing hitherto known in *Europe*.

ONE may be allowed to say this without Suspicion of Flattery, since to judge of Comedy, we must read the Rules laid down by the *Critics*, observe their Effects in the Works of the ancient Poets, who are by all allowed to excel, and then with those compare the *Moderns* ; but if we except the *French*, there are none but our *English Comedies* that can be compared with the *Ancients*. The *Italian Plays*, nay, and the *Spanish* too, are written without regard to Rule, and depend much

much more upon the Action of the Player, than upon the Genius of the Author.

TIRED therefore with this Representation, I bought two or three Collections of Novels, that I might improve myself in *Italian*, and at the same time divert that spleenetic Disposition, which made me uneasy to myself, and no doubt disagreeable to others. Thus the same Passion which divested me of a Power of using Time, taught me how to murder it, just as the Folly which hinders a young Man from encreasing an Estate, puts him into the Road of spending it.

THE second Day after my Removal, *Lucia* came to see me; her Visit was short, and a meer Matter of Form, some of the Family being always present; but she took Occasion to drop a Note in the Window, intimating, that the next Day at three o'Clock, she would come and stay two or three Hours. These Delays were infinitely grievous to me; yet, as I apprehended they were reasonable, it gave me a most exalted Idea of *Lucia's* Prudence.

AT her Hour the Lady came, with a Servant, and after having passed some little Time with a Friend of her's, who lodg-  
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ed in the House, she passed through that Lady's Apartment to mine ; and after some previous Introduction, and brief Inquiry into what had befallen me since I left *England* ; she entered on the Story of her own Life, and the Cause of our strange and sudden Separation. It may be my Recital of her Discourse, may in some way tarnish its Beauty, Women having a peculiar Elegance in Narration ; and the Detail of Facts, like Rays of Light, receiving Colour from Reflection ; yet if Truth be preserved, the Variations will not be material, and as they are inevitable may be easily pardoned.

It would be to no Purpose, said she, for me to give you any Account of my Family, who are as well acquainted with it as myself ; I will therefore briefly open to you what hath been the Source of great Disquiet to me, and, I am persuaded, no less Uneasiness to yourself. Colonel — when he went on the Expedition to *Hispaniola*, left under my Father's Care his Son, a Youth of about Nineteen Years of Age. What Education he had before he came to live with us I know not, but during that Space, we saw little Signs of any ; Country Sports he affected much, loved Drinking

ing more than Youngsters usually do, and was addicted to other Vices, which made my Father very uneasy, lest he should corrupt my Brother *Philip*.

IT so happened, that either by overheating himself, or some Irregularity, this young Gentleman fell into a Fever, which brought him to the very Verge of Death, and when it left him, had so exceedingly enfeebled him, that the Physicians were of Opinion, it would be followed by a Consumption. To prevent this, they recommended to him a very regular Course of Life, great Composure of Mind, and all sorts of innocent Diversions. In consequence of these Rules, he came much more into our Company than he was wont, and being much taken with the Romances and Books of Poetry which furnish my Closet, he fancied the Amusement he received from them, contributed to his Health, which being established by Degrees, he shewed a more than ordinary Regard for me, which was much sooner understood by my Brother and Father than myself.

You must know, that my Brother *Philip* hath some Qualities in him which are not suddenly suspected. He is particularly

ticularly addicted to Interest, and was so from his most tender Years. He never despised Money, as young Lads are apt to do, but very carefully laid up whatever was given him, and was continually forming Projects to increase his Stock.

As soon therefore as he perceived his Friend's liking to me, he informed my Father of it, took Notice of the considerable Estate the young Gentleman was to inherit, as also of his Expectations from a Relation at *Smyrna*, immensely rich, and who had no other Relation. While he was instilling these Notions into my Father's Head, Colonel — died abroad, and left his Son a clear Estate of 1500*l.* *per Ann.* and a very considerable Sum in ready Money, which determined my Father to improve, what to him appeared the luckiest Accident in the World. As to me, they either thought my Consent not necessary, or reckoned upon it as a Thing of Course; and therefore they mentioned nothing of their Scheme till all was ripe for its Execution.

WHEN the young Man had discovered that as a Secret to my Brother, which himself had found out, and reckoned upon long before, then it was

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thought proper to break the Matter to me, which was accordingly done by my Brother ; but in such Terms, as shewed that I was not to be consulted, but directed. Whether this gave any Biass to my Inclinations or not, I am unable to determine. The young Man had never been agreeable to me, tho' out of Respect to his Family, I had always treated him with much Civility : An Accident had contributed to improve this Dislike into an Aversion ; he had a Lad that waited on him, pretty near his own Age, and who was his Nurse's Son ; this Boy upon every little Offence, he would lash with his Horse-Whip as if he had been a Slave ; which to me seemed a bad Precedent for his Wife, and therefore I told my Brother on the first mention of this Business, that I could never have any Affection for him ; and therefore would never consent to marry him.

THIS unexpected Answer put them all into Confusion. The first Resolution they came to was, to forbid me to explain myself to the young Man ; which Command I received from my Father himself, not without some very sharp Reflections on my Conduct, or, as he was pleased to call it, my Disobedience.

As in the Course of my Life I had never deserved or received the smallest Re-proof before, the old Gentleman's Discourse made an inexpressible Impression on my Mind, insomuch that I threw myself at his Feet, and bedewed them with my Tears.

WHEN I had recovered my Spirits a little, I told him I was so sensible of my Duty to him as a Parent, and of the Obligations laid on me by his Tenderness, that I had much rather submit to Death than do any thing which might either offend or afflict him. I would be glad to know, Daughter, replied he, which you would have me believe, your Words, or your Actions; for as they are contrary, you cannot imagine I can believe both. Pardon me, Sir, returned I, if to me they seem very consistent; I wish, *Lucia*, added he, that you could convince me of that. Why, Sir, continued I, my refusing to marry this Man is not the Effect of Humour, Pre-possession, or Obstinacy; I am convinced in my Mind, that if I were his Wife, he would make very unhappy; this, Sir, would not fail to afflict you, and therefore I hope you will not attribute my Conduct to Disobedience. No, *Lucia!*

said the good old Man, sighing, I shall not : You may depend upon it that I will never force your Consent ; perhaps you may in Time change your Sentiments ; in the mean time, all that I expect from you, is to conceal them.

WHAT Excuses they made to my Suitor, I know not ; but about two Months after, came a Letter from his Relation at *Smyrna*, desiring him to come thither with all possible Expedition, with an Assurance that he would be well recompensed for the Fatigue of his Voyage. My Father and Brother advised him to comply with his Relation's Desire, and the rather, because they thought his Absence, added to his Youth, might be serviceable in protracting certain Suits that they were apprehensive would be commenced, in relation to some part of his Estate ; they promised to furnish him with a proper Expedient for returning in a Year, or a little more, and my Brother very roundly undertook to him, that the Marriage he desired should then take Effect.

As to the Management of his Estate, his Father had settled it by Will on certain Trustees, with whom my Father would have nothing to do, having naturally

rally no great Proneness to Busines. He and my Brother accompanied the young Gentleman to *London*, and the Spring following my Father would have *Philip* go and study in *Scotland*; for he perceived, that notwithstanding a more than ordinary Sagacity in his Nature, he had not a sufficient Stock of Learning, nor a competent Knowledge of the World, both of which he thought he might acquire by residing a little at one of the Universities in that Country.

I NEED not tell you what passed while you were at my Father's House; but as you are ignorant of the manner in which I was carried away, I will acquaint you therewith, and of what happened to me since I have been here. When you inadvertently communicated to my Brother your Thoughts concerning me, he instantly flew to my Father, and having given him very disadvantageous Impressions of our innocent Correspondence, brought him to order me to remain in my Chamber, where he was pleased to watch over me himself. About five in the Morning my Brother carried me in the Coach to *Spalding*, from whence, when you were gone into the *North*, I was carried to *London*, and as narrowly

watched, as if either some mighty Fortune had depended upon my Marriage, or I had been engaged in some scandalous Intrigue.

In three Years Space I heard little or nothing from Home, whither at last I returned almost without knowing why I had been banish'd, or wherefore I was recalled. The good old Man received me on my Return with great Tenderness ; he said he was sorry he had been so long deprived of me, and hoped I would still be a Comfort to him, since he had lost my Sister. This surpriz'd me, for in the Letters my Brother thought fit now and then to write to me, he had never mentioned a Word of any thing befallen my Sister ; I therefore asked my Father with some Amazement, how long she had been dead ? She is not dead, my Child, answered he, tho' she is dead to me, she has married one Captain —— whom you must have seen, a great Royalist, a boon Companion, and one of a small Fortune, who will quickly waste what her Grandmother left her, and leave her to be a Burthen and Disgrace to my Family.

I HAD not been long at Home before, after much Inquiry, I was inform'd that  
you

you were gone abroad under a borrowed Name, but whither, or under what Name, I could not then, or ever after learn. After a few Months, my Brother was obliged to go into the *West* on some Affairs of Consequence, and a Day or two after his Departure, my Sister came privately to make me a Visit. As we had always loved each other tenderly, I received her with all the Marks of Affection possible, and met the like in her. She told me, that being quite tired with my Brother's severe governing Temper, she determined with herself to take the first Opportunity that offered of gaining her Liberty. While she was in this Temper, the Gentleman she married met her by Chance at a Neighbour's House, and being surprized to see a Woman, whose Family had been always of the Puritan Side, so chearful and debonnaire, he took a Pleasure in conversing with her, and by Degrees became much in Love with her. She told him candidly and plainly the State she was in, her Desire of being settled, and the small Fortune she had.

THE Captain as fairly told her, he had a Relation lately dead, who had left him wherewith to clear his Estate; that he was very sensible of the idle manner

in which he had formerly spent his Time, and that he was just in her Condition, waiting for an Opportunity to settle himself. This Similitude of Circumstances, joined to the Peevishness of my Brother, and the absolute Command he had over my Father, brought Things to a speedy Conclusion ; they married privately, and my Sister having left a most dutiful Letter behind her, retired to the Captain's House, about a quarter of a Year before I was sent for Home.

WHEN she had visited me twice or thrice, I took an Opportunity, when I knew my Father was coming down Stairs, to leave the Door open. The old Gentleman, as soon as he saw her, came into the Room, and tho' he at first would have been very angry, yet in half an Hour his Passion was so far lost, that he asked her to stay all Night, and offered to send a Servant to acquaint her Husband. She very readily complied, and the next Morning came the Captain.

WE were from this Time all very good Friends, and my Father's Temper began to alter very much. His Son-in-law and he conversed very freely on Transactions of an ancient Date, and the more they conversed, the better they

were satisfied with each other. My Father found that the Captain was neither debauched in his Morals, nor addicted to arbitrary Power; and he, on the other Hand, saw nothing of that Stiffness or Contempt of the Government which he expected in the old Man. Thus Things went for a Time happily enough in our Family, excepting that my Uneasiness on your Account, increased the natural Gravity of my Temper, and by causing a great Depression of Spirits, brought on an Indisposition of Body which threatened a Consumption.

My Brother, whose fertile Brain would never suffer him to be still, and whose Notions with Respect to Church and State had not received much Improvement from his Studies in *Scotland*, embarked himself in an Affair which had well nigh effected his Destruction. It happened that some of his Acquaintance had mentioned him to the *Duke of Bucks*, who was then in Disgrace, as a Man of lively Parts, and one zealously devoted to the Commonwealth Party; upon this he sent for him, caressed him, gave him a Share in his Busines and his Pleasures, 'till the King issued a Proclamation for apprehending his Grace; and Warrants  
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from the Council were sent to seize his Dependents, among whom *Philip* had the Honour to be one.

In this Distress he retired into his native Country, and coming to a Farm-house about a Mile's Distance from ours, sent for his Father; the old Gentleman, though he went to see him, did not afford him that Countenance he was wont, but spoke to him very roundly, told him he was reconciled to Capt. — and that he would speak to him of his Business. My Brother took all in good Part, and being well acquainted with the Captain's Character, desired to lodge at his House, as knowing it would not be searched.

BUT in a few Months the Scene was changed; the Duke of *Bucks* was declared Prime Minister; governed all Things at his Will; and my Brother going up to *London*, was well received by the Duke, and is, I believe, still in his Confidence. What the Designs of his Grace are, it is well if himself can tell; but as to *Philip*, I dare say his Aim is to aggrandize himself by the Favour of his Patron, who hath already made such Promotions as have given Birth to a Proverb, *That to have a Place at Court,*

a Man must be known not to love the King. My Distemper increasing, my Father was desirous I should come to *London* for Advice ; I did so, and lodged with an Aunt of my Brother-in-law the Captain's. She had the Honour to be allied to the *Newcastle Family*, and by that means I was introduced to a great deal of good Company, to whom otherwise I should never have been known.

My Brother, during my Stay in Town, visited me very assiduously, and gave me extraordinary Marks of Tenderness and Affection. His former Conduct towards me, made me at first entertain some Doubt of his Intentions, but by Degrees the great Change I saw in his Manners engaged me to hope he was really become a new Man ; for though he still affected to live upon good Terms with his old Friends, yet he was become a great Courtier, spoke very advantageously of the *Duke of York*, and sometimes hinted that his *Royal Highness* had an extraordinary Kindness for the *Presbyterians*.

THOUGH these Things served for some time to amuse me, and though on my first coming to *London* I was visibly better, yet in a few Months I relapsed, and

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the Physicians unanimously agreed that nothing could restore me to a sound State of Health, but residing some Time either in the South of *France*, or in *Italy*. Tho' this was not very agreeable to me at first, yet my Brother persuaded me to comply with it, promising to make it his Care that I should be perfectly easy as long as I staid abroad, and that he would procure me such Recommendations, as should secure to me a good Reception where-ever I came.

I DID not care, however, to be wholly at his Disposal, and therefore I very gladly accepted my Brother-in-law's Proposal of going to *Venice*, and residing in the House where I now am, the Gentleman's Wife being the Captain's first Cousin. I have been here near six Months, have heard regularly from my Brother, whose Letters are continually accompanied with Presents ; and the Air hath had so proper an Effect on my Constitution, that I really think that I am perfectly recovered.

THUS, without telling me any thing very extraordinary, *Lucia* charm'd my Attention, and I listen'd with more Satisfaction to the plain Narrative of what had befallen her since my leaving *England*,

land, than I should have done to the best wrought Story of any *Italian* Wit, though it had abounded with surprizing Incidents, and had been embellished with that captivating Elegance deriv'd to this Nation, not more from Art than Nature.

In return to this Detail of *Lucia's* Adventures, I made a brief Recital of my own, from the Time of my leaving her Father's House, to that of my settling at *Geneva*. When I had finish'd, You have not told me, said she, any of your Amours. Come ! come ! you must not perswade me, that in so many Years you have seen no-body who could efface the slight Impressions you are pleased to say I made upon your Mind. If Nature had formed you without Regard to our Sex, you would have had no Passion for me ; and having this Bent from Nature, Love could never have been all this Time idle.

Your own Relation, *Lucia*, said I, affords me a proper Excuse ; you have told me nothing of the Addresses which your Beauty must have every where attracted ; and therefore the Credit I afford your Silence ought to derive the like to mine. To speak freely, I believe our Coolness

Coolness hath had but one Cause. The Impression your Charms made on my Heart, join'd to the ill-omen'd Events which follow'd it, gave me I know not what Prejudice to the Ladies, and hindered me from reaping those Advantages from their Conversation in my Travels which I might otherwise have done. Believe me, Madam, I look upon this to be an Injury for which you are accountable to me, and which you can only repair by making me happy in yourself. All Prejudices of this Sort deprive a Man of the highest Pleasure Converse with the World affords: There is a certain dry Gravity attendant on the Discourses of Men of Sense, which disgusts, though the parting with it would introduce a Levity far more disgusting; but with the Ladies it is otherwise; they animate Conversation with an innocent Liveliness, more effectually prevalent against Spleen than all the Wisdom in the World. To Men a Man submits from Custom and a Principle of good Manners, which like the Homage paid to an Usurper, is accompanied with a secret and unextinguishable Regret; but Regard for Women is the Dictate of Nature, and like the Duty paid to a natural Prince,

Prince, issues from the Fullness of our Hearts, and is scarce received with so much Pleasure as it is given.

I AM obliged to you, replied *Lucia*, for these Compliments ; but since you have mentioned *Italian* Love-Stories, permit me to give you a short Account of one, the Particulars of which fell under my own Cognizance ; and the Son of the unhappy Lady whom it concerns was your Predecessor in these Lodgings. I told her that I should be very glad to hear any thing that might be depended upon, because the *Italian* Wits having a fruitful Invention, and being also naturally fond of surprising incredible Adventures, I had not hitherto given much Faith to many of the Stories I had heard.

I believe you are not much in the Wrong, continued *Lucia* ; but upon what I assert in Respect to my Story you may depend ; as to the less important Circumstances, you may judge as you please ; and the whole will leave you such a Field for Conjecture, that your Faith will not be at all overburthen'd by the Load my Credit will bind upon it.

*LUCRETIA Dondo* was a Lady whose Beauty, though it distinguished her from

From all the Women in *Padua*, was very far inferior to her Virtue, and to the amiable Qualities of her Mind. Her Cheerfulness, which was the Effect of her Innocency, made her always agreeable to others ; and the Tranquility of her own Life was such, that as she always seemed, so she was always perfectly easy and well pleased.

THE Marquis of *Orciano* fell in Love with her, and marry'd her when she was very young. Her Parents laid no Restraint on her Choice, though they had recommended one Signior *Lorenzo*, who was also deeply in Love with her. The Lady, in Consequence of the Liberty left her, made Choice of the Marquis, though before and after her Marriage, she always spoke of Signior *Lorenzo*, in Terms of very high Esteem. Eighteen Years this Couple lived together, with all the outward Appearance of Content ; several Children they had, the eldest a hopeful Youth, who had prosecuted his Studies with great Applause, and who, to the Love of Books, joined also a suitable Affection for all such Things as it became a Gentleman to know.

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As for *Lucretia*, the Gentleness of her Manners, her spotless Character, her artless, inoffensive Conduct, made her the Darling and Delight of all *Padua*. The Men spoke of her in Raptures, the Ladies held her the Honour of their Sex, and Signior *Lorenzo* persevering in his romantic Gallantry, affected to admire her now no less than when she was single. It happened that the Marquis of *Orciano* had Occasion to make a Journey to this City, and in his Absence the poor Lady fell a Victim, whether to Lust or Jealousy, none can tell.

THE Night after her Husband's Departure, her Son hearing her give a violent Shriek, jumped out of Bed, and ran to her Chamber-Door, which opening upon him, somebody came out, pushed him over the Stairs, besmearing his Face with his Mother's Blood, and so went out. The Servants alarmed, and bringing Lights, the Lady was found half out of Bed, with three Stabs on her Left Breast, two of which were held to be mortal. She was not quite dead, but speechless, and unable to give any Account who was the Author of her Death.

SIGNIOR

SIGNIOR *Lorenzo* being proved to have walked frequently under her Windows, was apprehended, and put to the Torture; which he sustained with incredible Firmness of Mind, acknowledged it the just Reward of his Folly, but declaring that he knew not any thing of *Lucretia's* Murder, though he might be the innocent and involuntary Author of it. This Expression occasioned new Suspicions; Signior *Lorenzo* was discharged, and the Marquis of *Orciano* imprisoned in his Stead. He proved himself here at *Venice* on the Night of the Commission of the Fact, and was thereupon discharged.

A while after some of the Servants put it into the Son's Head, that Signior *Lorenzo* was both the Murderer of his Mother, and the Assassin of his Father's Reputation. The Youth unfortunately mention'd it to some of his Fellow-Students, who far from moderating the ill Impressions he had received, exhorted him, as a Man of Honour, to take Vengeance of the Enemy of his Family.

THE poor young Gentleman, thus misled, hired certain *Bravos* to assist him in his Enterprize, which succeeded but too well; for surprising Signior *Lorenzo*

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as he came from Mass, they shot him in the Street; some Gentlemen, who were with him, pursued and kill'd two of the Murderers, but the young *Orciano* escaped, and for some Time lived privately here.

HE seemed to be a very well-inclined young Man, but a little disturbed in his Head; however, being known, and proclaimed a *Banditto* at *Padua*, he was forced to fly, and is now at *Rome*. His Father leads a very disconsolate Life, having never been able to clear himself from the Suspicions brought upon him by this unfortunate Affair. To perpetuate, however, the Memory of so excellent a Person, the Government of *Padua* have in their Hall of Justice erected a Statue of the amiable *Lucretia*, with a suitable Inscription.

AFTER some Reflections on this melancholy Story, I observed to *Lucia*, that I was certainly a little unlucky in my Lodgings, since the House I lived in at *Geneva* belonged to the Grandson of a Man, whose Adventure had not only made himself remarkable, but was at every Turn brought up on the Mention of any of his Family. *Lucia* desired to be acquainted with it; and though the

Story

Story was common, I gave her an Account of it, having formerly set it down in my Diary as a Proof of this Observation, That Vice is ever productive of Misery ; and that such have Reason to be well pleased with their Situation, who distinguish the Hand of God in their Punishments in this World. The Instance was this.

THE Hero of this History was a Native of *Rimini*, a City in the *Papal Territory*, and a very accomplished Gentleman ; his Name was Signior *Pandolfo*. He had served some Years in the *French King's Armies*, and with Reputation. He resided some time afterwards at *Rome*, but finding, that though his Mind had improved, his Estate had been impaired by so many Years Absence, he retired to *Rimini*, resolving to pass the Remainder of his Years in his native Soil. He was then about *thirty-six*, and as active and sprightly as when a Lad. It so fell out, that his House joined to that of an old Gentleman who had married a young Wife, the Daughter of a Man of great Quality, though but mean Fortune.

SIGNIOR *Pandolfo* had not been long at home ere this Lady cast her Eyes upon him. She was a Woman addicted

to Pleasure, and without any Regard, either to the Laws of Honour or Religion. She made therefore no manner of Scruple of acquainting Signior *Pandolfo* with her Kindness for him ; and he, much too fine a Gentleman to feel any Restraint from Conscience, contrived a Method for their better Acquaintance, by breaking a Passage into her Maid's Chamber, whence he was easily conducted to her's.

BUT to prevent all Possibility of Surprise, the Lady caused several Holes to be bored in a very large Chest, where she kept her choicest Clothes and her Jewels, which was all the Fortune she brought her Husband, that upon any Emergency *Pandolfo* might be lock'd up therein, and yet not suffer for Want of Air.

THINGS went on in this Course for about two Years, when the Lady fell dangerously ill. Finding her End approach, she would needs take Leave of *Pandolfo* ; but in the Midst of this Interview, hearing her Husband coming, he was forced to betake himself to his Chest, in which he had not lain long before he heard the Lady address herself in these Words. *My tenderly loving  
and*

and much beloved Lord, I find Life retiring ; gratify me in one Request dying, to whom living you denied nothing. Speak, said the good old Man, and be assured, that whatever you ask shall be granted. Let then, said she, that Chest be set upon my Coffin without any Body's being suffered to look in it. It shall be so, replied the Husband. Presently, some of her Relations came to visit her, and in a couple of Hours she expired.

As her Distemper was a kind of malignant Fever, it was resolved to bury her about Midnight of the next Day, which was accordingly done, and the Chest, unopened, placed upon her Coffin in the Vault where she was inter'd. Before her Amour with Signior Pandolfo, she had shewn some Marks of Favour to her Husband's Page, who had thereby an Opportunity of seeing the Jewels that were in her Chest. This Man conceiving that such Things were of little Use to the Dead, went to the Sexton, and having promised him and his Son a Share in the Booty, prevailed on them to take a Share in the Enterprize of searching the Chest.

SIGNIOR Pandolfo, in the mean time, gave himself up for dead, and besought  
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the Almighty to pardon him his manifold Sins, and to suffer them to be expiated by this cruel Punishment. Such were his Meditations when he heard the Door of the Vault open, and soon after found them tampering about the Lock of the Chest. Conceiving there-upon a sudden Hope of Deliverance, he pushed back the Spring of the Lock, and throwing up the Lid of the Chest, started up all at once.

THE Thieves, supposing it the Devil come to punish them for their sacrilegious Attempt, fled without looking behind them. *Pandolfo* having put as many of the Jewels as he thought fit into his Pockets, went and hid himself in a private Part of the Church 'till Morning, and then retired to his own House secretly. His Son, for he afterwards married, being a Priest, in the fortieth Year of his Age retired to Geneva, where he became a Protestant, married a young Woman, and left a numerous Family.

THE Evening began now to wear apace, and *Lucia* at length took her Leave, with a Promise of giving me another Visit in two or three Days. In the Intervals between her Visits I diverted

myself with seeing whatever was curious in *Venice*; the *Duke's Palace*, the *Arsenal*, the *Church of St. Mark*, and many other Places; which as Books inspired me with a Curiosity of examining, so they left me little of Novelty to treasure up amongst my own Observations. Some Remarks, however, I did make, and in the Number, these.

THE *Venetian Commerce*, which is now little spoken of, deserves the Attention of *Foreigners*; and the Liberty of *Venice*, which is excessively cry'd up, hath indeed very little in it, or to speak with greater Propriety, is itself nothing at all. This may seem very strange, but it is notwithstanding very true. For, in the first place, the Duke himself is a *Slave*; he hath, it is true, a fine *Palace*, and when he goes abroad doth it in much State; but then this State reflects Honour only on the *Republick*; and as to the Palace, he is in fact a Prisoner in it, having Counsellors continually about him, who pry into all his Actions, and from whom he neither can, nor dare keep any thing.

ON the other hand, the Nobility dare not converse with Foreigners, especially of Distinction, for fear of rendering themselves obnoxious to the State. Ma-

ny of these Noblemen, notwithstanding they boast so much of their Honours, go about to Strangers Lodgings, and beg of them privately with very great Humility ; nay, some of them will do this who live in good Credit, keep handsome Houses, Servants, and *Gondolas*.

As to the People, they are the farthest from enjoying *Liberty*, taking that Word in a just and proper Sense, of any in the World. As for their Coin, it rises and falls two or three times in a Month ; many of the poorer Noblemen go into Shops and buy what they think fit, send it home, and pay for it at the *Greek Kaland*s, that is, *never* ; he from whom they take it neither daring to refuse them *Credit*, nor demand his Debt when he has given it them.

As for Strangers, they may do what they please, so they meddle not with the State, the smallest Offence against which meets with the quickest and severest Punishment. It is indeed a very glorious City in all Respects, and very far richer than in the Northern Parts of *Europe* we are apt to think. It is about eight Miles in Extent, contains not less than seventy Churches, sixty Religious Houses, the one half for Men, the other for Wo-

men, between four and five hundred Bridges, and at least ten thousand Gondolas or Boats, which are very convenient, and which they manage with great Dexterity.

IN the few Weeks Stay I made at *Venice*, I had many Interviews with *Lucia*, all at my own Lodgings, whither she came under Colour of visiting a Lady who lived there likewise. She said she had Reasons for my not visiting her at Home; and indeed what she alledged on this Head was very reasonable, viz. That we could not talk freely there, and that it would have rendered it impossible for her to have visited so frequently, and so long, as she did at the House where I lodged. The Issue of these Interviews was, that we should return together to *England*, and that after being privately married, she would, by her Brother-in-Law's Interest, procure me a Pardon, which would have put me in a Condition to have dealt with my perfidious Cousin.

HER Fortune in Possession and Revision might amount to between fourteen and fifteen hundred Pounds; and if this Project, which either was, or Love made me believe was practicable, had been carried into Execution, we might have

lived comfortably enough, our Tempers suiting at least as well as most of those who make Bargains for Life. But first of all it was necessary that I should return to *Geneva*, and settle all my Affairs there; which, however, was not to be gone about, 'till I had received Mr. *Hales's Answer.*

THIS arrived at the End of the Space I mentioned, and contained in Substance, that my Cousin was very much surprized at his Correspondent's Letter; and tho' he found nothing among his Father's Papers to warrant most of the Facts stated therein, yet, for the Sake of Peace, and to shew his honest Inclinations, he was content to pay me a thousand Chequins, provided I would sign an Agreement to make no farther Demands in three Years, in which Space all his Father's Affairs, he hoped, would be thoroughly settled.

MR. *Hales* advised me to accept of this Proposal; and indeed I thought it very reasonable myself; so I signed the necessary Papers, and received the Money.

WHEN there was nothing to hinder my setting out for *Geneva*, I made the necessary Preparations for it, and the Event-

ing preceding my Departure, had a long tender Interview with *Lucia*, to whom at her going away I presented a Ring set after the *Turkish* manner, that is, enigmatically. It consisted of a large Saphire perforated, a Diamond filling up the Middle, the whole surrounded with Rubies, which according to the Language of oriental Gallantry, is thus explained.

THE Rubies which first salute the Eye, signify a strong and ardent Passion ; the Saphire represents Fidelity ; both of which are insinuated to be everlasting in their Nature by the Diamond : Alluding to a *Turkish* Verse, which, literally render'd, runs thus,

*My faithful Love shall ever last.*

*Lucia* gave me a square Gold Box, in the Lid of which was her own Picture. Our parting struck me with a deep Melancholy, but she either was not, or did not seem to me so much affected.

I LEFT with her Directions how to write to me, and settled likewise a Correspondence with my Landlady. I proposed to return to *Venice* in five or six Weeks, and I paid for the Lodgings before-

before-hand for that Time. Such is the Confidence of Man, who knows not where he shall live or lodge on the Morrow. It would be Labour lost for me to go about to describe the Heaviness of Mind, the Dejection of Spirit, the Irresolution of Heart, which attended this Separation. I am almost ashamed when I recollect, that the great Source of all this was neither more nor less than a Dream.

It happened the Night before my taking Leave of *Lucia*, and in few Words was this : I thought myself in a large Meadow, with a Bow and Arrow in my Hand ; at a considerable Distance I saw a Pillar, to which a white Escutcheon was affixed, and on the Top of the Pillar stood a large Goblet of Gold. ; I shot with a single Arrow, and fixed it in the Escutcheon ; but when I went to take down the Goblet which I supposed I had won, I found a deep, tho' narrow River in my Way, too rapid to think of swimming over, and for crossing which, I could not see either Bridge or Ford, except at a very great Distance down the Stream, so that going thither and coming round on the other Side, seemed an endless Undertaking.

I TOLD this to *Lucia*, who smiled at it. The Impressions, said she, of our waking Thoughts, amuse us in our Sleep. I too have dreamt, and my Dream corresponds with yours. But what Wonder is it our Thoughts correspond? Those who suffer themselves to be deluded by the Shadows of Things, are frequently deprived of the Substance, and then impute to the Malice of Fortune, what in Truth proceeded from their own Folly. This appeared to me so sententious, so different from *Lucia's* manner of speaking, and so apposite to the Subject, that in that Instant I despised my own Weakness, and so far banished all Thoughts of my Dream, that I never asked *Lucia* how it resembled hers. But afterwards it recurr'd with its first Force to my Remembrance, and like the Vision of *Brutus*, rid my Imagination so strongly, that I could never throw it off, by Reason, Philosophy, or Religion. But enough of these vain Things.

THERE was nothing of any Moment happened in my Return to *Geneva*, where *Johnson* had managed every thing with great Prudence and Circumspection. I gave him an Account of all that had passed at *Venice*, and of my Intention to return

return to *England*, with which he was mighty well pleased ; and on my enquiring how long he thought it might be before our Affairs would be so well settled, as to admit of my Return to *Venice*, he demonstrated to me, that it could not take up less than six Weeks or two Months ; for as all the several Threads which my former Occasions had obliged me to spin, were now to be wound upon one Bottom, the Operation would not admit of a Lover's Haste, without breaking most, of not all of them.

PATIENCE therefore was absolutely necessary, and I began to frame to myself many Schemes of Amusement, till my Busines could be brought into such Order, as suited the Project upon which I was intent. At Mr. *Roland*'s particularly I spent a great Part of my Time, and laid out a considerable Sum of Money in compleating a Cabinet of Curiosities by his Directions. I flattered myself that these would not turn to my Loss on my coming back to *England*, and in the Prosecution of my Design, I happened to purchase a fine *Onyx* from Signior *Pucci* an *Italian*. Tho' these People are not very communicative, yet in several Visits he made me, I did him so

many Courtesies, especially in presenting him with a Book of Drawings, which had fallen into my Hands by Chance, that by Degrees I became much in his Favour, and he seemed disposed to deny me nothing in his Power.

MR. Roland had told me, that this Man, who was very rich, was reputed to have a Secret for clearing all sorts of precious Stones of Clouds and Milkinesses. Amongst other Jewels I had a very large white Saphire, which I bought at *Venice* for twenty Ducats, tho' had it been perfectly clear it would have been worth ten times that Money. This Stone I one Day shew'd to Signior Pucci, and told him frankly that I had heard he could make it perfectly bright.

AT first he was a little confused, but when he had recollect'd himself, he told me he was pleased with my frank manner of speaking, and that since I had obliged him, it was but reasonable he should oblige me. Accordingly he took the Stone, and in a Fortnight returned it perfect. When he gave it me, he addressed himself to me in these Words: You must certainly be very much surprized at what you see, it will doubtless convince you of an Error you may have been

been in; I mean, believing such an Operation as this impossible; but have a Care of falling into another Mistake, *viz.* an Opinion that this may be done by all sorts of Stones, which, so far as my Nation reaches, is impracticable. My Secret came to me by Chance, the Skill of using it by deep Observation and long Experience. I know, generally speaking, what I can perform, and where it would countervail the Expence; this hath turned to my Advantage; my Secret in the Hands of a rash and avaricious Man, instead of enriching, would destroy his Substance; and he would then charge that upon the Operation, which he ought to have charged on his own want of Judgment. If you have any Stones by you in which I can do you the same Kindness, I shall very freely serve you.

ABOUT a Fortnight after my Return to Geneva, I was much surprized on my coming from Church, to find Mr. *Fetherstone* in my Lodgings, from whom I had not heard for some Time. We embraced each other, and when he had refreshed himself with Chocolate, he gave me the Detail of his Misfortunes.

H.

HE said his Affairs went on perfectly well, and that he was worth a considerable Sum of Money, when his Ruin broke upon him like a Cloud big with Lightning, which blasted all his Hopes. He told me that in the Year 1657, he had some Acquaintance with a Person who had lived in *Holland*, and had a Pension from *John de Wit*, who was known by the Name of *M. St. Marcelle*. This Person did him some very considerable Services, and would accept of no sort of Gratification.

MR. *Fetherstone* in the Course of ten Years had almost forgot him, when a Person came to him one Day on the *Exchange* at *Roan*, and presented him a Letter signed *St. Marcelle*. The Purport of the Letter was, that the Bearer would deliver him a *Pacquet*, addressed to a Person of Distinction at *Paris*, which he desired might be sent by a special Messenger, and that he would be pleased to give the Person who brought these Letters, what he thought a reasonable Compensation for bringing them from *Diepe*.

MR. *Fetherstone* having received the *Pacquet*, gave the Person five Pistoles, and sent the Letters by his Servant to  
*Paris*.

*Paris.* About six Months after, it was discovered that this St. *Marcelle* either was engaged, or pretended to be engaged, in a Design against the French King's Life. Upon this, the Person to whom his Letter was addressed, was conducted to the *Bastile*, and a Person sent to apprehend Mr. *Fetherstone* at *Roan*, who missed him but accidentally, and who conceiving that he was fled, made a precipitate Discovery of his Errand, of which when Mr. *Fetherstone* had Advice, he thought it very expedient to fly in earnest.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Confusion this Step brought on his Affairs, he found Means to prevent any body's being a Loser by this Mischance but himself, whose whole Fortune by this Means was reduced to the narrow Compass of a Hundred Pistoles, or thereabouts. A melancholy Revolution this, and one that would certainly have overturned the Understanding of a Man of less Firmness; but for Mr. *Fetherstone*, he supported himself under it with a *Roman* Constancy, and comforted himself, by repeating often this Saying, *That the Character of an honest Man*

*Man was an Estate which Fortune could not take away.*

THIS Gentleman had not been long at *Geneva* before he discovered an old Acquaintance of his, whose Name was *Alonzo Perez*. He had been a Merchant at *Seville*, and Mr. *Fetherstone* had frequently Bills drawn upon him. By Degrees they entered into a closer Acquaintance, and *Perez* entrusted Mr. *Fetherstone* with the Care of some Jewels of very great Value, which he sent over into *England*. His Appearance at *Geneva* was very indifferent, which mightily surprized my Friend, who had known him a very considerable Man in the richest City of *Spain*.

*P E R E Z* quickly explained to him the Cause of his leaving his Country, and the Means by which his Fortune had been reduced, both the Mischiefs flowing from the same Source, which was this. The Uncle of *Perez*, who had given 18000 Crowns for the Title of *Marquis* to the King of *Spain*, and who had been for many Years Farmer of part of his Catholic Majesty's Revenues, was suddenly apprehended by the *Holy Office*, on a Suspicion, as it was supposed, of *Judaism*, which so terrified his

his Nephew, that tho' he had acquired a great Estate, and was on the Point of being married to a rich Heiress ; yet he chose to leave all behind him, and by the Favour of an *English* Vessel escaped to *Genoa*.

THERE he received a Bill of a thousand Pistoles ; but the Day after, having Notice that the *Spanish* Government would leave no Means unessay'd, in order to bring him back ; finding also great and visibly affected Delays in such as ought to have delivered him the rest of his Effects in that City, he thought himself no longer safe there ; and therefore withdrew as expeditiously as he could to *Geneva*, where he lived in very great Privacy, and was not a little pleased to find there so faithful a Friend as Mr. *Fetherstone*.

To him he communicated all his Affairs, and particularly informed him, that his Diamonds having been sold in *England* to a Person in great Authority during the Interregnum, his Correspondent had informed him, that he was very apprehensive the Money would be lost. Mr. *Fetherstone* advised him not to despair, and promised him that he would make Use of the few Friends

he

he had to serve him in this ticklish Busines.

IT was not long before Mr. *Fetherstone* introduced his old Friend to me; and as *Perez* was a Man of mighty good Sense, much Learning, and great Experience, tho' not above forty Years old, I was extremely taken with him ; the rather because he had a strong Tincture of amorous Madness, and talked as much of his Mistress at *Seville*, as I thought of mine at *Venice*.

ONE Thing in his Conduct seem'd to me inexplicable; he had always liv'd in *Spain* like a good *Catholic*, he had fled from thence on an Apprehension that he was suspected of *Judaism*; here at *Geneva*, he was a regular *Calvinist*, and behaved so well, that no body doubted of his Religion. My Curiosity on this Head got the better of my good Manners, and I could not help intimating to him one Day, that I wondered he was not tired with the Length and Vehemence of a certain Dominican's Sermons, who having quitted his Order, and abjured the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, declaimed against them with a never-ceasing Vivacity.

*P E R E Z*

*P E R E Z* could not avoid smiling at my Question, for he immediately penetrated the Drift of it. My Friend, said he, you have a Mind to know my Religion ; come, we are not in *Spain* ! I will therefore tell you my Sentiments freely ; I have a Religion of my own, the first Article of which is, that I confide in God's Mercy.

I AM a *Christian*, but as I am descended of the House of *Israel*, I think myself obliged to observe the *Mosaic Rites*, which I believe to have a perpetual Obligation, because I think perpetually rational. As to Popery or Protestantism, tho' I have comply'd with both, I acknowledge neither, for I am truly a *Catholic*, holding those Principles fundamental in Religion wherein all Christians are agreed ; and supposing that I may follow the *Mosaic Rites* without Danger of Salvation, because they were observed by the *Messiah* and his *Apostles*, from the same Motive as I apprehend which inclines me to them, viz. My Descent from *Jacob*, and my Conviction of Mind, that they are perfectly reasonable. These Sir, are the Articles of my Faith, from which I believe I shall never depart, and for

for which the Inquisition without doubt would have put me to Death without Mercy.

I LOOK'D upon myself to be very much oblig'd to the Gentleman for this Act of Confidence ; for, tho' as he observed, there was no Inquisition at Geneva, yet it is very certain, the Magistrates would have look'd upon a Man who held such Opinions as these in a very bad Light, as is apparent from their punishing *Servetus* with Death, for hammering out a System not very wide of this of Perez.

I DID not fail to give my Friend the strongest Assurances, that nothing he said to me should ever prejudice him here or any where else; upon which he opened himself very freely on many Subjects; especially the Number of Jews in Spain, which he affirmed to be very great; adding, that the Superstition of the People, and the Immorality of the Priests, were the grand Obstacles of their Conversion; the Practice of the former placing the Exteriors of Christianity in a very bad Light, and the latter inducing a Suspicion, that those who were most zealous for its Propagation, were least inclined

inclined to the Belief of its Doctrines, since their Lives and their Lessons were so diametrically opposite.

WHILE I was amusing myself with my Friends at *Geneva*, till such time as I could bring together all my Effects, which by engaging in several little Branches of Traffick, were pretty much scatter'd, I wrote, and receiv'd constantly Letters from *Venice*, till such time as I informed *Lucia* that my Affairs would be wholly adjusted in a Fortnight ; and therefore intreated her by the next Conveyance, to send me whatever Commands she would have executed before my Return to that City. But as it often happens, having suffered *Hope* to cast up this Account, there was a very considerable *Error* in the *Calculation* ; for after three Weeks Disappointment of Money from *Lyons* on the one hand, and of Letters from *Venice* on the other, I found myself still at a Loss, as to fixing the Day of my Departure.

In this Situation I was, when a Letter from my Landlord at *Venice* thunderstruck me at once. It ran in a Stile of high Resentment for my having carried on, as he expressed it, a very suspicious Correspondence at his House with a married

married Woman ; that a Week before Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_'s Brother and Husband had arrived, with whom she was sailed for *England*. The Evening before her Departure, she sent, as he acquainted me, a Letter for me, enclosed in one for his Wife, which she entreated might be carefully transmitted me ; because she was afraid it would be a long Time before an Opportunity would offer of writing to me again ; but as he thought it a great Indignity put on his Wife, he had commanded her to burn it in his Presence, which she had accordingly done ; he concluded with desiring me to trouble him with no more Letters, and if I came again to *Venice*, not to find the way to his House.

THE Oddness of the Matter, and the Rudeness of its Form, made this Letter appear to me in the Light of a Sentence of Destruction ; it took from me all Hopes at present, and not only so, but in some sort deprived me of all Expectancy of Hope, a Circumstance which sunk me below even a Slave at *Algiers*. I determined however to conceal this Misfortune as carefully as if it had been a Crime, and notwithstanding the Treatment I had received, to write in Terms  
the

the most pressing, and the most moving, it was in my Power to invent, to Mr. *Busbell*, with a View to the procuring a thorough Insight into this dark Affair. Accordingly that very Evening I wrote near a Sheet of Paper in the first Flow of my Distraction, and in a Tenderness of Stile and Thought, which I never remember but with Regret.

'TILL I could receive an Answer, I determined to exert the utmost Force of my Philosophy, in preserving such an Evenness of Temper, as might not only keep my Secret from being known, but from being suspected, even by *Johnson*, who knew my Disposition, and the Situation of my Affairs so very well.

THE better to succeed in this Scheme, I sent to invite my Friend *Perez* to come and pass a Day with me, which he very readily did, having already formed in his Mind that Project to which he afterwards procured my Consent. He came in the Morning, and till Dinner we diverted ourselves with looking over some Medals and other Curiosities, which I was packing up in Cases; and after Dinner was over, we fell upon the Affairs of *Spain*, when Mr. *Fetherstone*, who dined with us, took this Occasion to ask Mr.

*Perez*

Perez some Questions, as to the Conduct of the Inquisition. This insensibly turned the Conversation altogether upon that Head ; and what our Friend, who was born a *Spaniard*, said thereon, made on me so great an Impression, that after my Company were gone, I amused myself till late in the Night, with setting down the Substance of what I learned ; to which I was the rather inclined, because there was scarce any Subject of which in the Course of my Life I had heard more, or understood less : The Protestants, generally speaking, declaiming in the most violent Terms against the Injustice and Barbarity of the Inquisition; while on the other hand, most Catholics decline speaking on that Head, or else endeavour to apologize for the *Holy Office*, by denying most of the Facts alledged against it, and by dressing in the best Colours possible, the grand Argument in its Favour, *preserving the Purity of the Faith, and preventing the Peace of Society from being disturbed by religious Fars.*

THE Inquisition was established in most of the Provinces of *Spain*, towards the Close of the fifteenth Century, by the Power of *Ferdinand and Isabella*, who were

were directed in the Affair by Cardinal *Torquemada*, a Man of enthusiastic Resolution, and who had such an Ascendancy over the Spirit of the Queen, that he engaged her to carry his Projects into Execution, maugre all Opposition.

*PHILIP II.* who had a strong Prejudice to his Father's Memory, suffered the Inquisition to proceed not only against the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and two of the deceased Emperor's Chaplains, but also to form a Process against the late *Charles V.* as a Favourer of Heretics, and who had been suspected of Heresy himself. His Son *Don Carlos*, his natural Brother *Don John*, the Prince of *Parma*, and some other Persons of great Quality, took Fire at this, and expressed their Resentments a little too openly. The Consequence was, that the King, by fair Means and much Intercession, procured the Process on the Emperor's Will to be staid, though he suffered one of his Chaplains to be burnt alive, together with the Bones of the other, the Archbishop of *Toledo* saving himself by an Appeal to *Rome*.

As for the Princes, they were for the present obliged to retire from Court, and the Inquisition pursued them with unrelenting

unrelenting Hatred to the last Hour of their Lives. Sanctifying the Death of Don *Carlos* by their Decree, and acting on all other Occasions with such Fierceness, that King *Philip*, with all his Policy and Resolution, had much ado to restrain them within any Bounds.

FROM the Time of his Death, having had less able Princes to deal with, they have push'd their Authority still farther, and have presumed not only to censure, but to punish Kings of Spain, while on the Throne. As for Instance, *Philip III.* who having been so far moved by the Cries of the Condemned, at an *Auto de Fe*, as to say, *How hard for Men to die for their Belief, a Thing which they cannot help!* The Inquisitor General being informed of it, sent to acquaint him, that the Holy Office expected Satisfaction ; nor would he desist till the King consented to have some Ounces of his Blood drawn from his Arm, which the Executioner of the *Holy Office* threw into the Fire before the Inquisitor General, and his Officers.

IN *Portugal* they formed a Process against the Infant *Don Juan* ; but their Behaviour towards the Duke of *Braganza*, after he assumed the Regal Dignity,

nity, was still more extraordinary He was call'd *John* the IVth ; and as he owed his Crown to the People, so there never lived a Prince who was more truly the Father of his Peōple. On this Account he was no great Friend to the Inquisition. The Practice of the *Holy Office* in seizing at once the Person, and the Effects of those whom they suspected, seem'd to him not only unjust and unreasonable, but even highly prejudicial to the State. He therefore published an Edict, whereby he positively forbid all such Confiscations for the future.

THE *Holy Office* therefore apply'd themselves to the *Pope*, who thought fit to redress what they call'd a Grievance, though he refused, notwithstanding the most pressing Instances of his most Christian, as well as his *Portuguese* Majesty, to furnish *Portugal*, or any of its Dominions, with Bishops, though for Want of them the People were in Danger of becoming *Heathens*. The Relief he gave the *Inquisitors* was this : He by a *Brief* directed the former Method of Confiscation to take Place, declaring, that whoever oppos'd it, should stand excommunicated *ipso facto*.

THE Inquisitors, as soon as they had this *Brief*, went directly with it to the King, whom they met on his Return from Chapel. When he had read the *Brief*, he demanded of them to whose Use they pretended to convert the Goods of their Prisoners; they answered, To his Majesty's Use. Very well, said the King; then let the *Brief* be punctually obeyed; direct your Officers, when they seize, to make always exact Inventories of those which you say are to be my Goods, let them deliver them together with the Goods themselves, to my *Affig-nees*, whom I declare to be the next of Kin to the Prisoners; and my Pleasure is, that they enjoy them as a Gift from the Crown. While the King lived, they durst not dispute his Orders; but as soon as he expired, the Inquisitors told the Queen, and the Infants *Alphonso* and *Peter*, that his Majesty had incur'd the Guilt of Excommunication, and could not be buried till they thought fit to absolve the *Dead Body*, which they did in the Presence of the Queen and Royal Family, with much Solemnity.

THE Means by which the *Holy Office* mantain so absolute a Dominion in *Spain* and *Portugal*, are these. First, their being

supported on all Occasions by the Papal Authority, which on the one hand is exceedingly fortify'd by the Authority of the Inquisition. Secondly, by the *Holy Office* retaining such a Number of *Informers* under the Title of *Familiars*, who are Men of all Professions, and many of them of the highest Rank. Thirdly, the Ascendancy they maintain over the Minds of the common People, who from their Cradles are indued with such a Reverence, and such an enthusiastic Passion for the Service of this awful Tribunal, that it gets the better of all Sentiments of Religion and Honour, nay, even of that Tenderness which seems natural to the human Species.

As all the *Tribunals* of the *Inquisition* correspond with, and are subject to the *Congregation of the Holy Office* at *Rome*, it follows that the *Roman See* naturally protects these zealous and devoted Promoters of her Interest. To say the Truth, this is one of the fundamental Maxims of the *Roman Policy*; and without it, it is impossible to form any Idea how not only the Catholic Religion, but such a blind Devotion for the Papal Decrees as reigns at present in *Spain* and *Portugal*, could have been kept up, especially if we observe the Temper and

Disposition of these People, who are as knowing, as thinking, and at the same time at least as proud as any of their Neighbours.

THAT this is not Conjecture, but a Judgment established on Facts, will appear from comparing the Credit of the *Pope* with the Power of the Inquisition; for wherever we find the latter great, we shall find the former indisputed; whereas in Countries where there is no Inquisition, or where its Power is very much circumscribed, the Papal Authority is also kept within pretty strait Bounds, even though the Prince and People are zealous Roman Catholics.

IT cannot but seem strange, that Men in good Circumstances, and of good Families, nay, even Men of Quality, should enlist themselves as Informers; but they have their Reasons, and such as in those Countries appear far from contemptible. For first, they stand themselves exempt from all Fear of Informations; they enjoy an extraordinary Liberty, and have also a large Measure of Authority through their Interest with the Inquisitors. Again, they are privileged Persons, and cannot be proceeded against in any other Court than that of the Inquisition, let them do what

what they will, Murder not excepted. And though for very atrocious Crimes the Inquisitors will vouchsafe to commit them to Prison, and even to sentence them to perpetual Imprisonment, yet that does not hinder their being found at five hundred Miles Distance from their Prison-Gates ; the *Holy Office* claiming a Power of being as extravagantly indulgent to its own Creatures, as it is super-abundantly severe towards such as fall under its Displeasure. Lastly, the Familiars of the Inquisition are extremely well rewarded for their Services out of the Effects of Heretics ; for though it is pretended that these are confiscated for other Purposes, yet it is certain that the Office divides the greatest Part of them amongst its Attendants.

As to the Ascendancy which the Inquisition maintains over the Minds of the People, it is undoubtedly one of the most strange and unintelligible Things in the World ; it is as if a Flock of Sheep should be suborned to assist three or four Wolves in destroying their Fellows ; it is as if Men could be wrought on by some kind of Sorcery, to assist at the Immolation of some of their Fellow Creatures to an infernal Spirit ; but still, as it is an indu-

bitable Fact, we must admit it, how little soever we can account for it.

My Friend Perez assured me, that in *Portugal*, where *Auto de Fe's* are more common than in *Spain*, the People not only willingly assist at the most cruel Executions, but do it with a frantic Kind of Joy, not to be described, and scarce to be imagined; perhaps after all, this very Joy may be excusable, since if we attentively consider it, we can scarce suppose the People are in their Senses. On the whole it is certain, that there never was any Judicature so odious, or so terrible, as the *Holy Office*.

*P E R E Z* had for his Rival a Person whose Brother was a *Familiar*; this Man asked one of Perez's Servants, whether he had not seen his Master read *Abarbinel's Commentary*; this Question being reported to Perez, and he having compared it with other Circumstances, it induced him to leave *Spain*, and an Estate of near two hundred thousand Dollars. His Fears, however, were far from being ill grounded, for within six Hours after he quitted his House, it was invested by the Officers of the Inquisition, who immediately possessed themselves of his Effects, and proceeded against

against him as a Person whose Flight had declared him guilty.

THE next Day I spent in adjusting all my Effects, being determined to quit the present Place of my Residence, though I had no particular Reason for so doing, neither knew I whither to go where I should be either better received, or live more at my Ease. In the Evening Mr. *Fetherstone* came and sat with me two or three Hours, in which Space we ran over a great Variety of Subjects, and I remember that he was particularly concerned at the Approach of old Age, before he had made any Provision for its Reception. He said, that when Want threatened, a Man ought by all Means to double his Industry, and instead either of reproaching Providence, or of pretending indolently to wait for Relief from thence, to shew a Disposition of meriting the divine Favour in the Way of natural Causes, without vainly expecting Miracles, never wrought in Favour of the Lazy.

WHEN he took his Leave, he told me Mr. *Perez*, who lived on the other Side of the River, desired that I would pass the next Day with him, having something of Importance to commun-

cate to me. I accepted the Proposal, and promised to wait on him as soon as I came from Church. When Mr. *Fetherstone* was gone, and I had Time to ruminate on what he had said, I plainly discerned that his Mind was under some unusual Oppression, and that, not without struggling, it had delivered itself of these Reflections, which had either Reference to the Situation of his own Affairs or mine. With all my Industry, however, I could not penetrate the true Source of them ; and therefore, as I found myself little disposed to Rest, I resolved to apply his Reasoning to my Condition, in Order to form from thence some Judgment as to the Principles on which I ought to act in the future Conduct of my Life.

WITH such Speculations I amused, or rather wearied my Understanding, 'till at last I was ready to drop asleep, without being able, from all my Reflections, to form any more than this single Rule : That a Man, whose Fortune is in Disorder, should never suffer his Thoughts to be diverted from the Means of settling it, to the Consideration of the Methods of employing it when settled.

THE

THE next Day I went according to my Appointment to the Apartment of my Friend *Perez*, where I found him and Mr. *Fetherstone* discoursing together on Chemistry, at which I was surprized, for 'till then I had never suspe&ted that either of them knew any thing extraordinary of this Matter. Mr. *Fetherstone* seemed to make very light of the pretended Miracles of that Art.

He said, that as to Medicines, he had observed the greatest Cures done by Simples, and the worst Accidents following from Drugs *chemically* prepared; that as to the Curiosities of the Chemists, they served rather to divert and amuse Men, than to inform their Understandings; and as to the Transmutation of Metals, he asserted, that Reason and Experience had convinced him of the Impossibility of the Thing, as well as of the Folly of those who converted real Wealth into Smoke in the endless Search of imaginary Treasure. He closed these Observations with a very shrewd Remark, viz. That the Professors of all other Sciences began with laying down Self-evident Truths, or at least such Maxims as were easily shewn to be true, whereas the Chemists be-

gan as they ended, with Dreams and Chimeras ; and instead of instructing their Pupils in the right Use of their Reason, endeavoured to deprive them of it, in order to fill their Heads with enthusiastic Notions without Foundation, Connection, or the smalleſt Appearance of Veracity.

OUR Friend *Perez*, who had really less Vehemence than is usually found in a *Spaniard*, could however scarce bear this with Patience. Chemistry, it seems, was his darling Study, and he was almost as passionately fond of it as of his Mistress. If I were not acquainted with you, Sir, said he to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, and did not greatly admire your good Sense in other Things, what you have ſaid upon this Subject, would have given me a very wrong Idea of your Merit. Consider, my Friend, that every Science hath its Defamers. With the *Libertines*, the *Jewiſh*, *Chriftian*, and *Mohammedan* Divinity, ſeem all alike Fables. To the Wits, Mathematics is a dry, uſeless, and barren Sort of Knowledge. Poetry, and the *Belles Lettres*, are to Men of rigid Sentiments in all Communities, Trifles unworthy of Notice ; and, in ſhort, we have known Men, who, like *Cornelius Agrippa*,

*Agrippa*, have first sought to acquire Reputation by addicting themselves to universal Science, and have afterwards attempted to raise their Fame still higher, by persuading the World that they had seen through all Sciences, and found them no better than mysterious Vanities. General Prejudices, Sir, prove nothing, because they prove too much ; and as to particular Observations, I am persua-ded that Chemists have as much to say for themselves, as any other Tribe of learned Men. To them, Sir, Mankind owes most of those useful Inventions which are the Boast of latter Ages, and which, as they were unknown, so they were unhoped for by the Antients. What you say of Amusements certainly does Honour to this Art, since Men of Sense are then only amused when they see Things atchieved, for which their Understandings can no way account. The Transmutation of Metals surpasses your Faith, but the most intelligent *Spaniards* readily admit it, not from Credulity, but Conviction. You must know, Sir, that such as are acquainted with the Method of refining the Silver at *Potosi* in *Peru*, unanimously confess that Art brings Nature to mature in a much shorter.

shorter Time, than precious Metal, than she would otherwise, that is, without Assistance, do; and I myself can shew you an Experiment of a Silver Tree shooting out Branches of the same Metal from the bare Addition of Lead; though, as you say, this is of the Tribe of Amusements, since it is so far from being attended with Profit, that the Silver might be bought at a cheaper Rate. However, this is not the Case at *Potosi*, and where it is the Case, it still proves the Possibility of Transmutation, which is nevertheless wonderful, nevertheless certain, for its being expensive.

MR. *Fetherstone*, either not knowing how to answer these Arguments, or, which I rather believe, desirous of quitting a Topic that appeared disagreeable to his Friend, turned the Conversation, by addressing himself to me. Mr. *Perez*, said he, did not intend by this Invitation to disturb you with our Disputes, and therefore I take the Liberty of adjourning the Debate to some other Opportunity, when I shall have had more Leisure to consider and examine what he has at present advanced upon this Head. As I was extremely pleased with what each of them had said, I would have had

had Mr. *Fetherstone* returned to the Charge, but Mr. *Perez* also declined it ; he considered the last Expression of his Antagonist as a Mark of his being at present unprovided with Matter, and therefore from a *Spaniſh Punto* refused to press him farther at this Time. Chocolate, therefore, was called for, and not a Word mention'd of Chemistry for that Day.

THE rest of the Morning was spent in talking of our several Adventures, which had this in common, that without any great Misdeed, each of us was become an *Exile*. *Perez* regretted nothing but the Loss of his Mistress, for the Dread of the Inquisition had extinguished in his Bosom all Love for his Country ; so that without the Abolition of that Tribunal, he could never frame a Wish of returning to *Spain*.

MR. *Fetherstone* observed that he was alike banished from *England* and from *France*, and from both by cross Accidents, or rather by Mistakes ; yet, as he remark'd, it was easier to satisfy Strangers than one's qwn Countrymen; for, on his sending an Account to the *French* Court of the Manner by which Monsieur St. *Marcelle* became known to him,

him, he was immediately informed that he might return in Safety, for that this unhappy Man had given the same Account both on his Examination and at the Time he suffered Death.

As to myself, I took Notice that I suffered for the Faults of my Father, which I took to be the harder, because at the Restoration all old Offences were washed away, and Those received into the highest Favour who had been deepest in those Measures which had driven the Royal Family abroad.

OUR Dinner was slight, for our grand Repast was in the Evening ; and this being over, *Perez* desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to acquaint me with the Business on account of which he had desired my Company. For my Part, I had quite forgot what he had told me the Evening before, and was therefore a little surprised when *Perez* mentioned Business ; however, I joined with him in desiring Mr. *Fetherstone* to explain it to me, adding, that I should have been better pleased if it had been discussed in the Morning. *Perez* smiled, and said, it was a Thing would require both Evening and Morning Considerations ; and then

then Mr. *Fetherstone* taking the Discourse, proceeded thus :

My Friend Mr. *Perez*, and I, had been for some Time considering of a certain Project offered us by a Gentleman in *France*, who is our common Patron ; and as we are now at the Point of entering on its Execution, we were unwilling either to keep it longer a Secret from you, or to refuse you a Share in it, if it shall appear in the same Light to you that it does to us. In few Words then, our Friends proposed that we should make the Tour of a Part of the *Ottoman Empire*, beginning with *Egypt*, in order to collect Medals, Stones, Manuscripts, and other Curiosities, for which there never was so great a Demand as at present throughout all *Europe*, particularly in *Italy*, *France*, and *England*, where for genuine Relics of Antiquity no Price whatsoever is held to be extravagant.

MR. *Fetherstone* making here a little Pause, I was going to speak. Stay Sir, said he, let me finish what I have farther to offer you upon this Subject, and you shall have Time enough to say what you please. You must not imagine, Sir, that at this Season of Life I should be fond

fond of seeking Adventures in unknown Parts of the World, if I had not a very probable Prospect of making myself easy, in Consequence of my going through such a Fatigue. I have a Friend at *Lyons*, who will lend me 200 Pistoles; I have another at *Marseilles*, who will furnish me with as much; what I have of my own will make up the Sum between five and six hundred; my Friend *Perez* will venture the like Capital, and we are well informed of the Goods in which our Money ought to be vested; we have likewise a Memorial, containing the fullest Instructions as to the Curiosities we are to purchase; we are neither of us unacquainted with these Things, and we have the strongest Recommendations to the *French* and *Venetian* Consuls; so that tho' at first Sight this Project may seem a little chimerical, yet it is in Truth as well founded, and will be as well supported as any thing of its Nature can be. Our own Industry must indeed be the Sheet Anchor of our Hopes, and if we cannot depend upon ourselves, it is in vain for us to expect Success in this, or in any other Undertaking. As it is, my Fortune is shipwreck'd, it can be no worse if

I should be mistaken in my Conjectures as to the Project before us ; whereas if Things go right, I shall be sure of passing the rest of my Days in quiet in *France* or in *Italy*, or it may be in *England* ; for I am not of Opinion, that the Government there will always pursue the same Measures which they have hitherto done.

As for me, added *Perez*, I have such a Source of perpetual Disquiet in my own Bosom, that Rest is painful, and a State of Agitation only affords me Quiet, by recuing me as it were from myself. It is this, full as much as any View of Profit, which hath determined me to take this Voyage. If I should not succeed, I shall still have something left to preserve myself and my Friend here, from being quite quelled by the Frowns of Fortune ; and as Time is the Parent of many strange Events, I cannot tell what, against our Return, it may bring forth ; perhaps some Accident as favourable to me as that was unfortunate, which drove me from my Family and my Hopes. You have heard our Project, and our Reasons for embracing it ; now, Sir, if Similitude of Circumstances should incline you to take

take a Share with us in this Design, we shall have a better Opinion of it, and scarce entertain any Doubt of succeeding under your Auspice. It is impossible that you should resolve in a Moment; it will be a Fortnight or three Weeks before we shall think of quitting this Place; and therefore, if in eight or ten Days you will come to a Resolution, we shall hear it with Pleasure.

I THANK'D my Friends for this new Mark of their Confidence and Affection, promised to take the Matter into my Consideration, and to acquaint them with my final Resolution, within the Space of twelve or fourteen Days. I desired Leave, however, to ask the Advice of certain Persons, whom I took to be proper Judges of an Affair of this Nature, declaring at the same time, that how much soever I thought it might import my Interest, yet I would never think of doing such a Thing without their Consent. They readily gave it me, with this Caution, that I should not descend into Particulars, or mention any of the Persons concerned. These Preliminaries settled, we parted, and I spent a great part of the Night in ruminating on the Probability of carrying this Project

ject into Execution, and the Turn of my own Capacity for bearing a part in it. The great Point that perplexed me was, the forsaking *Lucia*, whom notwithstanding the strong Probability of the Thing, or rather Proof of it, I could not believe married.

THE next Day, as soon as I had brought myself into some Temper, (for in the Morning the Reflection of what had passed the Day before, confused me not a little) I went to visit Mr. *Roland*, who had been a Preceptor in the Theory, and my sole Master in the little practical Knowledge I had of Stones and Medals. It so happened, that I came to him very opportunely ; he was embarrassed for want of a small Sum of Money, which because of a former Debt, he would not mention to me ; it came by Chance to my Ears, and with some Difficulty he was persuaded to make Use of my Assistance. We spent the Afternoon together, and as nothing was more common than for us to talk of the Affairs of the *Levant*, and the Method of carrying on a Trade there, I easily turned the Conversation on that Subject, on which my Friend talk'd as freely and fully, as if I had particularly asked

his

his Advice on the Business then in my Head.

HE discoursed of the Cautions necessary for preserving Health in the Oriental Countries, and for familiarizing one's self to their Customs ; he described at large the Virtues, Vices, and Manners of the *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Greeks*, and never did any Painter hit Likeness more exactly. He explained the Method of dealing with all these People, their respective Artifices, and the Means of guarding against them ; above all, he recommended the Study of *Pbyfic*, as the shortest and safest Method of being introduced into the Houses of Persons of Distinction, with whom he alledged it was always best to converse, and through whom it was easiest to acquire whatever one sought for in those Countries.

FR OM this Conversation I was thoroughly convinced, that such an Expedition as my Friends had proposed, to me, might turn to great Advantage under prudent Management, and a steady Regard to the main Design. When I returned Home in the Evening, I looked over all the Notes I had formerly made upon Subjects of this Nature, planned out a Method for disposing

posing them into Order, and drew out such *Queries* as might lead to a thorough Knowledge of all Points in which I had been hitherto deficient, for want of being acquainted with the proper Head of Inquiry. I likewise prescribed to myself a Task still more laborious, that of digesting all my other Memorandums into Method, so that they might lie in a narrow Compafs, knowing that if I ever carried this Design into Execution, it would be impossible for me to have the Use of many Books.

A DAY or two afterwards I went to visit Mr. *Pucci*, whom I found in a very declining Condition; he had some Months before a Fit of an Apoplexy, from which with Difficulty he was recovered. Soon after he fell into a Dysentery, which tho' the Physicians had found Means to alleviate, yet were they unable to cure. It was this Disorder which had brought my Friend so low as to be scarce able to walk cross the Room. In this Condition he had his Senses as clear as ever, and spoke to me with his usual Affection and Tenderness. The Concern I was under to see him so weak, hindered me from mentioning any Busines, and occasioned my enquiring particularly into

the

the Causes of his Distemper. The good old Man said, that he believed his Constitution was quite worn out, and that he was thankful to Providence for affording him this soft and gentle Death.

BEFORE I was aware I answered, that it was not impossible he might recover, for that I had known extraordinary Things done by taking daily a very small Dose of prepared *Opium*. Signior *Pucci* catch'd at this, and would immediately have the Medicine, which when I saw he was not to be moved I comply'd with, and having weigh'd out exactly three Doses, he took one of them immediately, and the other two on the next succeeding Days. After the last Dose, he was apparently much better, and by keeping to this Medicine in the same Proportion it was at first given him, he recovered wonderfully.

By this lucky Accident I became exceedingly in his Favour, he would have presented me with a Ring of very great Value, but I absolutely refused it, telling him at the same time that I would put it in his Power to gratify me farther than the Value of that Ring. I then began to explain to the old Gentleman the Business I had at Heart, and he very kindly

kindly furnished me with all the proper Instructions I could desire, and answered all the Questions I thought fit to ask. At the close of the Conversation he gave me a little Note, which in three Lines contained the Secret of cleansing colour'd Stones, the Value of which, if I had attentively considered, I might have spared myself the Pains of leaving *Italy* to acquire a Fortune.

BEFORE the Fortnight was expired, in which I had promised to give my Answer to my Friends, I receiv'd a Letter from *Venice* unsigned, which informed me, that my Landlord threw my Epistle into the Fire without reading it, that all I could write would meet with the same Fate, that *Lucia* was undoubtedly married ; and that to make myself easy and happy, I ought never to think of her more. At this Time I stedfastly believed this Letter came from my Landlady, who had always professed a very great Esteem for me, but it seems she really knew nothing of the Matter ; on the contrary, as soon as he had burnt my Letter, my Landlord went to the House of the Gentleman where *Lucia* lived, and in a Passion, gave an Account of the whole Transaction, which coming

ing to the Ears of the Lady with whom *Lucia* lived in the strictest Friendship, she had the Goodness to write the Letter I have just mentioned, in order to put me out of Pain.

THE next Morning I sent my Man to invite Mr. *Perez* and Mr. *Fetherstone* to Dinner, and before we sat down to it, declared to them my fixed Resolution to embark with them in the Design they had proposed. They appeared extremely satisfied with this Resolution, and we drank that Evening to the Success of our Affairs, not indeed to a Degree of downright Drunkenness, but pretty much beyond our usual Extent; so that it was thought proper for them to remain all Night in my Apartment, and the next Morning it was agreed that we should immediately enter on the necessary Prepartions for our Voyage.

HITHERTO I had suffered myself, as often as I was alone, to be haunted with Dreams of returning to *England*, and living somewhere in the Country with *Lucia*. But now as this appeared absolutely impracticable, I resolved to rid myself of these idle Notions, and to apply solely to the Point in Hand, as to that on which my Fortune entirely depended,

pended, having at present little or no Hopes of receiving farther Advantage from the Effects of my Uncle, notwithstanding the Justice of my Demand.

MR. *Fetherstone*, who had undertaken to negotiate with Mr. *Mountague* (for so the *Lord Chief Justice St. John* was called) after he had retired into *France*, the Payment of the Money due from a certain great Person to Mr. *Perez* for his Diamonds, happily concluded that Affair ; I say happily, tho' he could not procure the whole Debt ; but 1500 Piftoles, for which it was compromised, proved a great and unexpected Addition to *Perez's* Fortune, who till his Flight from *Spain*, had looked upon this in the Light of a desperate Demand. All my Effects were by this Time either come to Hand, or remitted to Mr. *Hayes*, on whom I could depend ; and therefore it was agreed that Mr. *Fetherstone* should immediately set out for *Venice*, to provide all Things there for our Departure from *Europe*, and that Mr. *Perez* and I should follow him as soon as conveniently we could.

THIS Resolution was executed almost as soon as it was taken, and we had no Reason to repent of having placed our

whole Confidence in Mr. *Fetherstone*, whose Integrity and Capacity appeared very remarkably in the Management of a Busines so new to him, as well as to ourselves. It is true, he had the Help of the *French Memoir*, which was very exact, as well as comprehensive ; but with the best Instructions, it is necessary that he who is to execute them should have Honour and Prudence, for otherwise they will be of little Use.

IT fell out in our Affairs as it does in most new Undertakings, half the Difficulties relating to it were not foreseen. Mr. *Perez* and I therefore were exceedingly surprized, when after a Stay of Seven Weeks, Mr. *Fetherstone* informed us that it would much better answer our Purposes, if we made Choice of *Leith* for our Port, from whence in the succeeding Month there would sail a *French Ship* for *Alexandria*, on Board of which we might enjoy all imaginable Conveniency ; whereas according to our former Scheme, we must wait till the Beginning of the next Year before we could embark from *Venice* as commodiously. The Reasons he assigned were so just, and our Confidence in him so great, that we instantly returned him an Answer conformable

conformable to his Desires, and he there-upon quitted *Venice*, and repaired to *Leghorn*, for which Place, as soon as we received Advice of his Arrival, we determined immediately to set out, having had all Things for some Time in readiness.

AMONG the parting Visits I made to my Friends, one was to Signior *Pucci*, which because it was attended with some Consequences worthy relating, I will mention here. As during my Stay at *Geneva*, I had a great deal of spare Time on my Hands, I employed part of it in visiting such of the States and Principalities in *Italy* as lay not at too great a Distance. By Degrees, either on Business or Pleasure, I saw them all, excepting only the Territory of his *Hciness*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. As my Intention was to inform myself as thoroughly as I could of their present Condition, I constantly made a List of *Quer-ries* drawn from the Deficiencies, Variations, and Contradictions of the Accounts I had read, and by satisfying myself on these Points, I looked upon it as a Thing certain, that nothing very material could escape me. These at my Leisure I reviewed, and from them composed

*two distinct Treatises, one in Italian, the other in English, of the State of Italy in the Year 1672.*

THE former of these I had formerly shewn to Signior *Pucci*, who either out of Regard to his Author, or because he really had a better Opinion of the Piece than it deserved, desired to have it transcribed, that he might have a Copy of it for his own Use, which at this Visit I gave him. The old Gentleman received it very kindly, and at the same Time he placed it in his Cabinet, took from thence a Paper, which he put into my Hands.

THIS, said he, my Friend, next to the Manuscript you have given me, I look upon to be the choicest Piece in all my Collection ; it is a Discourse of a *French Virtuoso* on the *Philosopher's Stone*, and is esteemed by the *Literati* of *Italy* a Master Piece. I think I cannot make you a more acceptable Present, otherwise I would endeavour to do it.

*A DISSERTATION on the natural  
Production of Metals, and of the Possi-  
bility and Probability of their being such  
a Universal Tincture as is commonly  
called the Philosopher's Stone.*

" **A**S Credulity is the *Mother* of  
" **E**rror, so Sceptism is the Parent  
" of *irresolute Ignorance*, as homely a  
" *Baby* as the other. *Truth* is only dis-  
" cover'd by those who are content to  
" join the *Lights of Experience* and of  
" *Reason*, and who are as much dispos'd  
" to receive for certain, what of their  
" own Knowledge they are *told by others*,  
" as they are inclined to expect from  
" *others* an immediate Belief of what  
" they *affirm* themselves. I have pre-  
" mised this for two Reasons, *First*,  
" because the little Knowledge I have  
" hath accrued to me from practising  
" these *Maxims*; and *Secondly*, because  
" I intend to deliver the Fruits of my  
" *Studies to others* in the same Way, and  
" not by the fatiguing round-about Road  
" of the *Schools*, wherein *Form* is so  
" much prefer'd to *Matter*, that we  
" are often disgusted with *Truth* itself,  
" through the *Weariness* we are under

" from the tedious Journey taken in  
" Search of her.

" In all the Parts of the Universe we  
" distinguish *Matter* and *Spirit*; by *Mat-*  
" *ter* I understand those gross Particles  
" which are only fit to be *acted* upon;  
" and by *Spirit*, those fine and lively  
" *Effluvias* which are properly suited  
" for *Action*. A warm and humid *Vap-*  
" *our* steeming continually from the  
" *Center* of the *Earth* gives *Spirit* to all  
" Things; which are the same in this  
" respect, tho' they differ from each  
" other, according to the variety of *Mat-*  
" *ter* wrought on by this *Aetherial Spi-*  
" *rit*, or *Mercury of Nature*.

" *THIS Breath or Vapour* passing over  
" a dry subtil and sulphureous *Earth*, it  
" carries Part thereof along with it,  
" because all *dry Bodies* adhere to *Moi-*  
" *ture*, being forced by the *Central*  
" *Heat* still upwards, and meeting in  
" the *Caverns* of the *Earth*, continual  
" *Resistance*, whereby it is often beaten  
" back on that dry and sulphureous  
" *Earth*, which it at first gently touch'd;  
" at last, after many *Sublimations* and  
" *Precipitations*, this *Mercury* is absorbed  
" and swallowed up in the *Earth*, and  
" by the internal *Heat*, becomes the

" Seea

" *Seed of Metals*, of which the *Matter* as  
" well as the *essential Form* is the same  
" in all, their Differences arising only  
" from the *Accidents of Density and Colour*.

" As to the first Point, the *Difference*  
" in the *Weight*. Such as are called  
" *imperfect Metals* are *specifically lighter*  
" than those which are stiled *perfect*  
" *Metals*: and the Reason is, because  
" they are composed of *gross* and *hete-*  
" *rogeneous Parts*, that is, the Bulk and  
" Contrariety of the Particles cause in  
" such *Metals* more *Vacuities* than there  
" are in those composed of *smaller* and  
" *homogeneous* Particles. To make this  
" perfectly plain, consider that a Basket  
" filled with *Apples* hath evidently more  
" void Spaces, than the same Basket  
" fill'd with *Corn*. Again, a thousand  
" *Ivory Dice* might be pack'd up in much  
" less Room, than if the same quantity of  
" *Ivory* was wrought up into *five hundred*  
" *Dice*, *three hundred Billiard Balls*, and  
" *two hundred little Eggs*. This Com-  
" parison, as it explains the Lightness of  
" *imperfect Metals*, so it shews also how  
" they come to be more brittle and fran-  
" gible; for in a Body full of *Vacuities*,  
" any Stroke from without easily occa-  
" sions a *Separation*, whereas it would

“ more closely unite a Body composed  
“ of small and homogeneous Particles,  
“ as Experience also verifies.

“ THE Second Difference is Colour.  
“ For if all Metals could be made as  
“ heavy as Gold, and as yellow, they  
“ would undoubtedly be turned to Gold.  
“ At present we shall not enter into the  
“ Causes whence are derived the differ-  
“ ent Colours of Metals; it is sufficient  
“ to observe, that the Yellowness of Gold  
“ arises from its being composed of homo-  
“ geneous Parts, and from its humid  
“ Spirit being effectually swallow'd up  
“ in its Earth. To explain this, let us  
“ consider Bread, which is composed of  
“ Flour and Water properly tempered;  
“ when by the Operation of Heat, the  
“ Moist is thoroughly absorbed in the  
“ Dry, the Reflection of the Rays of  
“ Light exhibit to us a yellowish Colour;  
“ whereas when raw it was White, and  
“ if it had been over-baked, it would  
“ have been Black.

“ THIS then being a fair Account of  
“ the manner in which Nature acts in the  
“ Formation of Metals, if we propose  
“ to ourselves to do the same Thing,  
“ we must imitate her; we must take  
“ a dry subtle and sulphureous Earth,  
“ and

“ and this warm and humid *Vapour* or  
 “ *Mercury*, and having caused the *one*  
 “ to *imbibe* the *other*, we must sublimate  
 “ and circulate these till they fix in a  
 “ *metallic* Substance, which by Degrees  
 “ may be dried till it becomes *Gold*,  
 “ and this the more certainly and the  
 “ more expeditiously, if the *Earth* were  
 “ properly purified before, and the *Ope-*  
 “ *ration* performed by a *Heat* stronger  
 “ and more constant than that proceed-  
 “ ing from the *Central Flame*.

“ BUT our *Philosophy* pretends not  
 “ to carry Things so far; it aims only  
 “ at making a *Powder* fusible, subtil,  
 “ penetrating, fixed, and with a Power  
 “ of *Tinging*. By its *Fusibility*, it melts  
 “ with a small Degree of *Heat*; by its  
 “ Subtilty, it is render'd fit to enter into  
 “ the streightest *Pores* of any *Metal*; by  
 “ its penetrating *Quality*, it forces  
 “ through them, and mingles itself with  
 “ all their *Particles* to the very *Center*,  
 “ rendering them fix'd and solid, by the  
 “ *Expulsion* of *heterogeneous* *Particles*;  
 “ and finally, by the *Diffusiveness*  
 “ of its *Tincture* drying the *imperfect*  
 “ *Metal*, and tinging it throughout with  
 “ the *Colour of Gold*.

" It is apparent from what hath  
 " been already said, that for the Forma-  
 " tion of the *Philosophic Powder*, so far  
 " transcending *Gold*, it is necessary to  
 " have a proper *Spirit*, and a proper  
 " *Matter*. The *Spirit* or *Mercury* of  
 " the Philosophers is, as we have shewn,  
 " enclosed in every thing which *lives* ;  
 " but then this *Spirit* acquires a specific  
 " Quality from the *Matter* which it  
 " animates ; and if we could separate a  
 " vegetable *Spirit* from the *Matter* in  
 " which it is enveloped, and mix it with  
 " a smaller quantity of the *Mercury* of  
 " the *Air*, it would operate on the *lat-*  
 " *ter*, so as to assimilate it, and make  
 " it become a *vegetable Spirit*. But to  
 " cut Things short, if it could be so  
 " contrived as to separate the *Mercury*  
 " of *Gold* from its subtil and sulphure-  
 " ous *Earth*, we might by small Addi-  
 " tions of the *Mercury* from other Things,  
 " greatly encrease this *Mercury* of *Gold*,  
 " and then by a long and ingenious Pro-  
 " cess, managed with a proper Regard  
 " to *Nature* in her *Formation* of *Metals*,  
 " force this accumulated *Spirit* or *Mer-*  
 " *cury*, to unite itself again with the  
 " aforesaid subtil homogeneous and sul-  
 " phureous *Earth*, after which it would  
 " be

“ be no longer *Gold*, but the spirituous,  
“ penetrating, fixed, and tinging *Pow-*  
“ *der* which we want.

“ SUBSEQUENT to this short and di-  
“ stinct Account, there is no need of  
“ running through the *Experiment* of  
“ *Transmutation*, in order to shew how  
“ this *Powder* would operate on an *im-*  
“ *perfect Metal*; this we have already  
“ done in the Description we gave of  
“ the Philosophic Powder; and we  
“ would equally avoid Obscurity and  
“ Repetition. The Intent of this little  
“ Essay is not to divulge the *Secret* of  
“ making this Powder, but to shew that  
“ the supposing the Possibility of pre-  
“ paring it, is no *Absurdity*, as some  
“ who affect to be thought *Philosophers*  
“ would persuade the World it is; and  
“ having done this, there is nothing  
“ more to be said. Let him who would  
“ be farther instructed, consider serious-  
“ ly this Account, and prosecute his  
“ Studies with an *bumble Mind*, and a  
“ due Resignation to the *Will of God*.”

A Day or two before we were to set  
out for *Legborn*, as I was talking to  
*Johnson* of our Expedition, I appre-  
hended by the Coldness of his Answer,  
that

that he had no great Opinion of our Success, upon which I intreated him to deal freely with me, and give me his Advice in this as he had in other Things. He began with observing, that I ask'd it a little too late ; that if, as I suspected, he had conceived an indifferent Opinion of this Project, his confessing it would only serve to discourage me, since my Fortune was already embarked ; but, Sir, said he, it is not so, my Uneasiness is on my own Account ; I find my Constitution much weaken'd and impair'd ; I am apprehensive that travelling will encrease this Indisposition, and that instead of being for the future what I hope I have hitherto been, a useful and diligent Servant, I shall be a Clog and Burthen to you. You will stand in need of a Person more active and more knowing than myself, though you are sensible, Sir, that I am not wholly unacquainted with the Nature and Value of those Rarities you are going to collect. However, Sir, that you may see I mean nothing less than to desert your Service, I will propose to you what I hope may advantage it as much, or rather more, than my travelling with you, which in few Words is this. I will, if, you think proper,

proper, remain at *Leghorn*, whither we are now going, in order to take care of your Effects, which are at present unemploy'd, and to receive and execute such Commands as you may find it necessary to give me; but of this, Sir, you will think at Leisure, for I pretend only to offer you my Sentiments, desiring that you should be guided only by your own. There will be Time enough for you to weigh this Matter maturely, which I recommend to your Consideration so warmly, because I think your Interest much more concerned in it than my own.

In the beginning of the Month of *November*, Mr. *Perez*, and I, accompanied only by *Johnson*, arrived at *Leghorn*, where we lodged in the House of Messieurs *Varillon*, French Merchants, where we were treated with all imaginable Kindness, and had all the Conveniences we could possibly desire. Mr. *Fetherstone*, since his coming hither from *Venice*, had been extremely troubled with a kind of bastard Pleurify; but as he was a Man of great Firmness and Resolution, he was so apprehensive of delaying our Affairs as well as his own, if he should have recourse here to the Advice

Advice of Physicians, that he contented himself to the Use of such simple Medicines as either Reason or Experience acquainted him with, in hopes that these, with the Help of a very regular Diet, might restore him to Health. But in this he was deceived, for by the frequent Returns of his Distemper, he was so exceedingly weaken'd, that in the Space of a Fortnight he was obliged to keep his Room.

In this Condition, I without acquainting him sent for an eminent Physician, whose Name was *Ricardi*, who declared the Patient in a very dangerous Way, order'd some Blood to be taken away, and the next Day prescribed him a kind of Posset drink, which by its Smell and Taste appeared to be strongly loaded with ruinous Salts ; by the Use of this, and some oily Draughts, my Friend recovered slowly, and at the same time the Physician declared that it would by no Means be safe for him to think of going to Sea, especially at this Season of the Year ; which induced a new Change in our Affairs, and engaged us to resolve that Mr. *Fetherstone* should remain at *Legborn*, and that *Johnson* should attend him. There was a Necessity of coming to this

this Resolution, because the *French Ship* in which we were to make our Passage, proposed to sail by the tenth of *December*.

IN the Time that upon this Occasion I staid at *Legborn*, I was entirely acquainted with one Mr. *Wood*, the Grandson of Capt. *Wood*, so famous for his many long Voyages, which turned, however, but little to his Profit. This Gentleman lived on a small Fortune, acquired by his Father in the Service of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whose Son I saw more than once in *Italy*, and whose Grandson was at this Time Page of Honour to the Elector of *Bavaria*. As I was always jealous of the Honour of my Country, I could not help hearing with the greatest Satisfaction the Praises given to the late Duke; nor was I less amazed at my own Ignorance in this Point, who knew not 'till I came into this Country, that there was any such Person as this Duke in the World.

As for Mr. *Fetherstone*, he was tolerably acquainted with his History, and for my Friend *Perez*, he almost adored his Memory on account of his being one of the *Adepti*, and who was generally held to have possessed, if ever Man did, the *Philosopher's Stone*. Having collected

lected from my Friends the best Materials I could, and compared them with such Books as I could get a Sight of at *Leicester*, I drew up the following Memorial concerning this extraordinary Person, and his most wonderful Adventures.

*ROBERT Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*, so well known to the World by the Favour he lived in with his Mistress Queen *Elizabeth*, cohabited for many Years with the Lady *Douglas Sheffield*, as his Wife, and had by her a Son and Daughter. The Son was called after his Father, *Robert*, and bred up with as much Care as if he had been intended for the Heir of his Father's Fortunes and Titles ; and so indeed he ought to have been, since his Mother, who was the Daughter of the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, and the Widow of the Lord *Sheffield*, was no unworthy Match for his Father, and as certainly married to him as ever any Woman was to her Husband. But it was the Earl's Misfortune frequently to change his Views in Love, as well as Politics, and to stick at nothing to carry the Points which at any Time struck his Imagination. The Wife of the Earl of *Essex* eclipsed not only the Lady *Douglas*, but his many Mistresses; so that being desirous to transfer his Honours

Honours and Estates to his Issue by this Lady who was with Child by him during her Husband's Life, he is said to have procured the Death of that Earl ; and thus, notwithstanding his former Marriage, he took the Widow twice to Wife; once privately for his own Satisfaction, and again to please her Father Sir *Francis Knolles*, in his, the Earl of *Warwick's*, and the Lord *North's* Presence.

As for the Lady *Douglass*, he first offered her seven hundred, then a thousand Pound *per Annum* to deny her Marriage, and bastardize her Children ; but she refusing these and all other Conditions, another Method was try'd, familiar enough to his Lordship, whereby she lost her *Hair* and *Nails*, and was so effectually frightened, that to save him the Trouble of any future Attempts, she married Sir *Edward Strafford*, a Man of noble Birth, and of distinguished Abilities, the Queen's Ambassador to *France*.

ALL this Time the young *Robert Dudley* remained under the Care of his Father, who though he took Care on all Occasions to call him his *base Son*, yet in other Respects he abated nothing of his Tenderness towards him. When he grew up, he was sent to *Christ-Church College*

College in *Oxford*, of which University his Father was Chancellor. There the young Man very early distinguished himself by his surprizing Abilities, rivalling while a Youth the most knowing in the University, especially in the Mathematics. What was still more wonderful, he excell'd no less in Studies of another, or rather opposite Nature, *viz.* Politics, at the same time that he surpassed in his Exercises the most sprightly of the Nobility.

WHEN he was but a very young Man, he addicted himself to Chemistry, affected much all new Discoveries in Navigation, and, after his Father's Death, who tho' he again declared him his *base Son* by his Will, left him all that was in his Power, exerted himself in a very laudable Manner in the Encouragement of Trade, Manufactures, settling of Colonies, and whatever else contributed to national Glory. His Knowledge made him esteemed by the wisest Men, his Beneficence caused him to be surrounded with such ingenious Men as were in Distress, whom he liberally relieved, and with whom he familiarly conversed; at length, in the Year 1594, taking to heart the many Miscarriages of the *English* in the South Seas, he fitted out three small Ships

Ships at his own Expence, determining also to hazard his Person for retrieving the Reputation of the *English* Seamen in that Part of the World, and for making such Discoveries as might redound to the Service of the State.

B u t when all Things were ready, Queen *Elizabeth* absolutely refused him a Licence, saying, It became her, as the Mother of her People, to prevent their lavishing away their Lives in such vain Expeditions ; however, she gave him Leave to sail into the *West Indies*, which he accepted, though he knew that Voyage could not possibly turn to his Account. At his first sailing from *England*, he lost the Company of his second Ship, and never recover'd her ; however, he proceeded in his Course, and with two small Vessels took and sunk nine *Spanish* Ships, and in his Return engaged in his little Frigate a very large Ship of War, 'till such Time as all his Powder was spent, and then out-sailed her, tho' it was afterwards known that she founder'd at Sea, and was lost with all her Crew. In 1595, he returned safe to *London*, and was some time after knighted.

DURING the rest of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, he distinguished himself by encouraging

couraging to the utmost of his Power all the new Branches of Trade which were opened by our Merchants, either to the East or West. He married the Lady *Alice*, by whom he had two Daughters, and for ought I know other Children. On King *James's* coming to the Crown, he attempted in the Court of Star-Chamber to prove the Legitimacy of his Birth. To this Purpose, his Mother, the Lady *Douglas*, was examin'd, who deposed, that she was lawfully and solemnly married at *Asher* in the County of *Surry*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, in the Presence of Sir *Edward Horsey*, who gave her in Marriage, *Robert Sheffield*, Esq; and eight other Persons. It appeared likewise in Evidence, that the Ring with which she was married, was set with five pointed Diamonds, and a Table Diamond; which Ring had been given to the Earl of *Leicester* by the old Earl of *Pembroke*, with this Injunction, never to part with it but to the Lady he made his Wife. The Lady *Parker* deposed at the same time, that she had seen and read at the very Time it was delivered to the Lady *Douglas*, a Letter felicitating her on the Birth of her Son *Robert*, subscribed, Your loving Husband, *Leicester*.

BUT

BUT on a sudden the King sent an Order to stay all Proceedings in this Cause, and forbid the Publication of any of the Depositions. Soon after an Information was exhibited against such as had been examined for entering into a Conspiracy against the Honour of *Lettice Countess of Leicester*; whereupon Sir *Robert Dudley* resolved to leave his native Country.

WITH this View he procured a Licence to travel for three Years, though he certainly intended not to return so early at least, if at all. He took with him the Daughter of Sir *Robert Southwell*, and left his Wife, by whom he had two Daughters, behind him, with her Children. Travelling into *Italy*, after visiting other Courts, he settled at that of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, where he lived with such Lustre, that it was currently reported, and generally believed, he either had the Philosopher's Stone, or some other Secret of the same, though it might be of an inferior Nature. Here it was that he made a grand Display of his vast Abilities in the practical Mathematics, by projecting the Re-establishment of *Leghorn*, for those who pretend it

it was built by him, are in a prodigious Error.

IT anciently belonged to the *Pisans*, and was by them rendered a commodious Port, and a tolerable City; falling into the Hands of the *Florentines*, it sunk into a very low Condition; from whence it was recovered by the Interposition of Sir *Robert Dudley*, who contrived a Method of cleansing the Marshes, and thereby amending the Air, the Unwholesomeness of which had been the chief Occasion of its Desertion. He likewise advised the declaring it a *Free Port*, and pointed out the vast Advantages which would accrue to the Grand Duke thereby. One grand Objection that he overcame was this, that even according to his own Project the Port of *Leghorn*, however fair in Shew, would never be capable of receiving large Ships; and if these again were suffered to ride in the Road, they would not be under the Command of the Guns from the Fort; so that after a vast Expence the Grand Duke would have no Security of seeing any Part of his Money return'd, but lye in a Manner at the Mercy of Strangers.

SIR *Robert* observed that it was on this very Situation he built all his Hopes, that

that what was called Want of Security, was the best Security in the World, for it would induce Traders to anchor there rather than in any other Port. Two other Things he advised, which have been pretty well kept up to, *viz.* the laying but one Piaster on a Bale of Goods, let its Bulk or Value be what it will ; the other, that *Messieurs* the *Inquisitors* would be pleased to wink at Strangers, and not pretend to inquire into the Religion of Those who came to do their Business, and not to make or be made Proselytes. This Nobleman afterwards built a very fine House at *Florence*, where he was very conspicuously the Patron of the Learned, the Industrious, and the Ingenious. For his rare Merit the Emperor *Ferdinand* the II<sup>d</sup> created him a Duke of the *Holy Roman Empire*. The *English* generally stile him Duke of *Northumberland*, but the Inhabitants of the Country called him Duke *de Berlich*. But it is now Time to return to his Affairs in *England*.

HE had not been long out of the Kingdom before the Enemies of his Family procured a Privy Seal to recall him ; which he not obeying, his Estates were

were seized. Afterwards, however, Prince *Henry* having a Mind to purchase the Castle of *Kenilworth*, and Lands belonging thereto, Sir *Robert* was treated with in order to part with his Right, which for *fourteen thousand five hundred* Pounds he consented to do, though the Purchase was worth *forty thousand*. His Highness had thereupon Possession given him, yet Sir *Robert Dudley* never received one Shilling. *Three thousand* Pounds, Part of the Purchase Money, was paid to an *English Merchant* who failed; and Pride *Henry* dying, the Estate descended to Prince *Charles*, and all Hopes of the Money were lost.

IN the Year 1621, however, a new Agreement was made with the Lady *Alice*, Wife to Sir *Robert Dudley*; in Consequence of which, an Act of Parliament passed to enable her to convey all his Estates as if she was a single Woman, and legally possessed of them, in Consideration of certain perpetual Annuities granted to her and her Daughters; which, however, neither she nor they ever received. But a long Time afterwards, I think, after the breaking out of the *Civil War*, this Lady, who was still living, was by Letters Patent under

under the Great Seal, created a Dutchesse, with Precedency to herself and Daughters, according to the Patent granted by the Emperor *Ferdinand* to her Husband. These two Daughters, *viz.* the Lady *Catbarine*, and the Lady *Anne*, were married, the former to Sir *Richard Leveson*, the latter to Sir *Robert Holbourn*.

THIS Duke, who spent the rest of his Life for the most part at *Florence*, had Issue two Sons, and several Daughters, by the Lady he carried from *England*. The eldest of these Sons succeeded him in his Title, the second was an Ecclesiastick in *France*; his Daughters married Persons of great Quality, and the eldest of them was at this Time living, being married for the second Time to the Marquis *Paleoti*, by whom she has Issue. The present Duke of *Northumberland*, as he is called, was formerly High Steward to the Queen of *Sweden*, from whom he had a Pension of six hundred Crowns per *Annum*.

HE also hath two Sons, but is not esteemed rich, and therefore I think the English do not pay him much Court. I have known many who took him for a Knight-Errant, and a Man of no Birth. This strange Inaccuracy amongst our

Countrymen makes Strangers conceive oddly of them ; and indeed not without Reafon. For undoubtedly, never any Man was worse treated than Sir *Robert Dudley*, who was punished for the Crimes of his Father, contrary to the Law of Nature, of Nations, and of his Country. To deny therefore to him or his Descendants, those new Honours which he merited from Foreign Princes, is a Mark not only of Injustice, but of Unpoliteness, or rather Brutality. But enough of this.

*LEGHORN* is a very pretty Town, extremely well built, and appearing so much the more beautiful, because the Streets are broad, uniform, and strait, all leading to the large Piazza where the Merchants meet. The Place is very well fortified, and the Citadel is of considerable Strength. The Mole is a wonderful Work, and of great Security to the Ships which lie within it ; the Road is tolerably safe ; but in truth it is the Privilege of its being a free Port which causes such a mighty Resort to *Leghorn*. Should any of the Grand Dukes venture to increase their Revenues by breaking in upon this Privilege, we shculd see it deserted, as many of

the

the Ports of *Italy* are already. On the Key there is a very fine Statue of *Ferdinand I.* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, supported by four Slaves.

THERE were at this Time several very eminent *English* Merchants in *Leghorn*, viz. Mr. *Foot*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Serle*, Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Hatton*, Mr. *Dethick*, &c. But our Business lay with *Jacob Francia* a Jew, a very rich Man, and of a fair Reputation. Of his Nation there are great Numbers at *Leghorn*, who have a Quarter to themselves, and are not troubled on Account of their Religion.

There are many *Turkish* Slaves who go up and down with a little Lock upon their Legs, and are permitted to ply as Porters for their Bread, paying an Acknowledgment to their Patron. This is an excellent School for such as intend to understand the *Levant* Trade, because they have here greater Opportunities of conversing with Foreigners, such as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Jews*, who have travelled through the *Turkish* Empire, than any where else; and therefore, though we remained longer than we at first expected, it was with very great Regret that I left it so soon, before I had Time to make many Acquaintances, or could

furnish myself with such further Instructions as I thought necessary for pursuing with Success the Busines I went about.

IN this City there resided one *Jacobi*, who had been Captain of a trading Vessel, but had now raised an Estate on which he lived very handsomely. He was a great Lover of Chemistry, and understood it pretty well. This Gentleman affirmed, that five and twenty Years before, I think in the Year 1646, a Person lodged in the House of a *Jew* of his Acquaintance ; the Man was a Stranger, without Recommendation to any body, but of very courteous Behaviour, and who appeared to have more than ordinary Learning. This Stranger having heard of Captain *Jacobi*'s Inclination for Chemistry, and that he was very desirous of knowing whether there was such a Thing practicable as *Transmutation of Metals*, desired to speak with him ; and having first obtained his Promise, that he would say nothing of what passed between them 'till a certain Time after his Departure, he desired the Captain to bring him a brass Candlestick, which having melted before his Face, he turned immediately into fine Gold.

I HAVE heard many such Stories without giving much Credit, or indeed taking much Notice of them ; neither can I absolutely believe this ; but I have set it down, because Capt. *Jacobi* was esteemed a Man of Honour.

THERE was also in *Leghorn* one *Veneroni*, a *Venetian*, whom himself stiled a Physician, and whom the Physicians called a Quack : He had a *Nostrum* for curing the *Neapolitan* Disease, which he performed with very gentle Physic ; of which it was known the chief Ingredient was *Senna*, and a Diet Drink very pleasant to the Taste. He likewise cured Leprosies, and all extraordinary Foulnesses of the Skin, chiefly by a Diet of Chickens and Capons, nourished with the Flesh of *Vipers*. The Physicians would have bought his *Nostrum*, but he refused to part with it, upon which they decry'd him ; however, he has got a great deal of Credit as well as Money. It was observed, that of late Years this Man affected to appear very religious, which some attributed to his Fear of the *Inquisition*, to whom, on the least Scandal, the Physicians would get him denounced, and thereby rid themselves of so troublesome a Rival.

THREE or four Days before we left the Place, my Friend *Perez* grew very uneasy. He had at a Coffee-House refused a *Jew* his Price for a Watch ; and the Fellow being very importunate, he at last bid him be gone in a pretty quick Tone. Upon this the Fellow turned about and told him, he was as much a *Jew* as himself ; that he had fled from the *Inquisition in Spain*, and that he should not remain long at Liberty if he staid in *Leghorn*. It seems this Fellow had been at *Genoa* when Endeavours were used to seize Mr. *Perez* there. We were much alarmed at this Accident ; but it had no ill Effects, by reason the *Jews* of their own Accord obliged the Fellow to go immediately to *France*, fearing that he should expose themselves to the Resentment of Strangers ; and that if this Affair made a Noise, it might prejudice some of their own Relations in *Spain*. However, to rid Mr. *Perez* of all Apprehension, I got an Apartment for him in the House of a *British Merchant*, where he remained till the Vessel was ready to sail. This is an Instance of the natural Insolence of the *Jews*, which renders them so hateful wherever they reside.

THE Day preceding that on which we should have gone on board, a *Corsair* sailed out of the Road, and carried with him abundance of Seamen belonging to the Ships then in the Port. I, who heard the Complaints of most of the Captains, and particularly of him with whom I was to sail, took all the Pains I could to be acquainted with the Nature of the Business, there appearing to be in it the strongest Contradictions in the World. For, on the one hand, it was asserted, that Seamen were no where better treated than on board the Vessels in the Merchants Service trading to the *Levant*; and that on the contrary, in these *Corsairs*, or *Crusals*, the Men were used like Slaves, detained some five or six Years, and at length set at Liberty without a Farthing in their Pockets.

THAT Sailors of all Nations should quit the Merchants Service to go on Board these Privateers, was therefore to me the oddest Mystery in the World, especially considering the Infamy attending that Profession, which hinders Sailors who have ever been on board them from being employed elsewhere, for fear some of their old Maxims should stick with them, and put them upon inviting their

Companions to mutiny, which Experience, as well as Reason, hath shewn to be but too practicable in these Parts. In order to inform myself on these Heads, and of the Nature of these cruising Voyages, of which I had heard so many extravagant Stories, I resolved, as I was to go in the Afternoon to take my Leave of Captain *Jacobi*, to desire him to set me right a little, and to give me some Idea of the Charms in this kind of Life, which were so strong as to engage Men to leave an honest and comfortable State of Life for immediate Want, and the future Prospect of perpetual Slavery, impaling alive, or at least Indigence and Infamy, as long as they lived.

Captain *Jacobi* enter'd readily into the Matter, and gave me a very full and very distinct Account of the Management of the Crusals. He began with observing, that they were fitted out from several Ports of the Mediterranean, particularly from this of Leghorn, under Colour of cruising on the Turks and other Infidels; but in truth, to make Prize of all Vessels weaker than their own. The first Thing, said he, considered on such an Undertaking, is the Choice of a Captain, who, together with the Lieutenant, and other

other Officers, are to be Men of Experience, such as have made at least one Voyage before. For these Voyages lasting often nine Years, one is sufficient for a Man to gain Experience. The Captain and Officers being fixed, a Ship is bought, an old one generally, which is well fitted up, handsomely painted, and sixteen or twenty Brass Guns put on Board, besides Patareroes. As to the Number of Men, it is uncertain ; however, they rarely go to Sea with less than *one*, or more than *three* hundred. I perceive what you want to know is, how they come by these.

In the first place, the Captain and his Officers pick out a *dozen* or *twenty* daring desperate Fellows who know not how to live, and these are styled *Volunteers*. Next he stands out to Sea with his Vessel, and perhaps hovers on the Coast of *Corsica* or of *Sicily*, where he takes on board such as are in great Fear of the Gallows, such as have been condemned for Murder, Robbery, or Sacilege, and, by the Interest of their Friends, are permitted to escape out of Prison. By this Time the Captain has Soldiers enough ; the next Thing is to get Seamen.

WITH this View he comes again into this Road, and sends on shore a Dozen or Fourteen of his Volunteers, who insinuate themselves into the Company of Sailors ; tell them Miracles of their Captain's Valour, Generosity, and good Fortune ; swear that they are bound by their Agreement with their Proprietors to return to *Leghorn* in *three* Years, and that at the End of this Space they propose to divide at least *three thousand* Ducats a Man.

As soon as a Seaman listens to his Discourse, and begins to talk of Wages, he tells him they live on board like Gentlemen, and at the End of the Cruise receive their Proportion of the Prizes ; but that as they may at present stay some Time in Port, the Captain will readily advance a Seaman he likes forty or fifty Crowns, or to a very clever Fellow (such a one to be sure as the Volunteer talks to) *four-score* or a *hundred*, if he stands in need of them. Upon this, the Sailor desires to be introduced to the Captain, who at his Audience hath three or four of his People by, ready to catch the Words before they are half out of his Mouth, and to swear to the Truth of all he says. This Interview issues in an Agreement with

with the Stranger, and an Advance of fifteen or twenty Crowns, which the Man is suffered to spend in running up and down *Leghorn*, but never without a Spy in his Company, whom he generally treats as his Friend.

WHEN the Money is out, this Fellow puts him upon asking for more, pursuant to the extravagant Agreement made with him at first. Upon his Application to the Captain, he is very probably kept to Dinner with him, and invited to drink pretty freely after it; when he is mellow the Captain goes to reach him the Money, but finding he has not much on Shore, he gives him an Order upon the Lieutenant for the Sum he desires, and at the same Time another very express Order, that after receiving the Money he shall be permitted to come on Shore, which however the Lieutenant construes into a very strict Command to keep him close on Board, which he does not fail to do, without giving him a Dollar.

By these Practices the Ship is mann'd with *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Flemish* Sailors, for *Italian* Seamen are not so easily trapaned, and then they stand away for the *Arches*, where tho' every thing

thing they lay hold of is good Prize, yet so much Care is taken to lock up all the Sailors Shares, that they seldom or never fee a Dollar, or get a Shoe or Stocking of their own. The *Volunteers* are their *Guards*, and treat them like Slaves. After *eight* or *nine* Years the Ship returns into Port in better Condition than she fail'd, for they frequently break up new Vessels to repair her, and make Use of all the Carpenters they can lay hold of *gratis*. The *Seamen* are then turned adrift, and the *Proprietors*, besides a considerable Sum of ready Money, have *three* or *four* *Hundred*, sometimes many more Slaves, divided amongst them.

To make this the more easily comprehended, the *Captain* was pleased to give me an Account of a very strange Accident which befell Monsieur *Thevenot*, a very learned French Traveller, who returning from a Pilgrimage which he had made to the *Haly Land*, was taken on board a *French* Saique, almost in Sight of the Coast of *Syria*, by a *Maltese* Caper, that is a *Corsair*, fitted out from *Malta*, not one of the *Vessels* of the Order. These Pirates not only seized the Vessel and Cargo, but stript also the Passengers,

Passengers, and amongst others M. *Thevenot*, stark naked, and the next Day sent them ashore with only a few Rags to cover their Nakedness. The *Port* they landed them at was *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*, where there happened to be two or three *French Merchant Ships* in the Harbour. The *Turkish Aga* thereupon apply'd himself instantly to the *French Consul*, and told him, since this Insult had been offer'd to his Master's Subjects almost within Sight of the Place, he must insist on his giving Orders to the *French Captains* to give Chace to the *Corsair*, offering to accompany them in Person with three or four small arm'd Barks. The *Consul* could not avoid complying with this Request ; the *French Captains* spent the Night in putting their Vessels in order, and in the grey of the Morning stood to Sea with the *Turkish Barks*. As soon as the *Corsair* saw them, her Crew cut the Cables, and crowded all the Sail they could ; they chaced them however some Hours, and the *Turkish Barks* fired at them, tho' to no Purpose ; at length they gave over, and returned into Port. As soon as the *Aga* had debarqued his Troops, he went to pay his Compliments to the *French Consul*,

*ful, which he did to this Purpose. I am obliged to you for the Assistance you so readily accorded me; I have done my Duty, and am not sorry we did not succeed, since how much Villains soever these People may be, you could not help seeing with Regret so many Men, some perhaps of your Country, all of your Religion, impaled alive; a Fate from which I could not possibly have excused them.* The Consul on his Part congratulated the Aga on his Integrity, and so this Busines ended.

Not long since a Frenchman of Birth addicted himself to this Way of living, and became Captain of a Vessel which carried Livorneze Colours. As he was a very enterprizing Man, he quickly rendered himself very famous throughout the Archipelago, having sometimes adventured to land, and take Prisoners within a Day's Journey of Constantinople. At length it so happened, that he went ashore on a Greek Island, where sometime before the People had risen, and put the Grand Seignior's Officers to Death. Conscious of their own Demerits, and dreading the Revenge the Turks were about to take, the faithless Greeks seized this unhappy Captain, and made their

their Peace, by delivering him up to the Sultan.

He had made himself so terrible to the Turks, that the *Grand Seignior* had a Desire to see him ; he was then absent from *Constantinople*, and the Prisoner was carried where the Court resided. When the *Grand Seignior* had look'd upon him, a Man of the Law was ordered to tell him that he must become a *Turk*, to which he answered, *I am in your Power, you may put me to what Death you please, but God forbid I should redeem my Body at the Expence of my Soul.* Three Hours afterwards he was beheaded, and his Corpse by the *Grand Vizir's* Order exposed for three Days, after which the Christians were suffer'd to inter it. Such was the Account my Curiosity procured me of the *Corsairs* of the *Levant* and their Affairs. Now to my own.

ALL our Effects and Baggage being on board by the 8th of *December*, the Captain called upon us in the Evening, to desire we would not fail to be ready before Noon the next Day. We spent the greatest Part of the Night in conversing with Mr. *Fetherstone*, to whom we promised to send from *Alexandria* whatever we met of Value, with Instructions

structions how to dispose of it, that it might be without the Reach of Fortune. He and my Servant *Johnson* on the other Hand, gave us all possible Assurance of their Industry and Care of our Interests, of which we were perfectly well assured, and I think no People ever did trust each other so much, and found less Occasion to repent of it. The Week before we parted I had taken into my Service one *Antonio* a Portuguese, who had been Servant for many Years to the last Venetian Consul at Cairo. This Man was recommended to me as a Person sober, diligent, one who understood the Language, and was well acquainted with the Country; which Character I confess he answer'd; but he had so many odd peevish Humours, that Mr. *Perez* and I were rather his Servants than he ours.

It had been my Study to put our Effects in the least Compass possible, and with that View I had contrived four Chests, which being placed two on the Top of the other Two, made an exact Cube, and by the Help of Steel Rods and Rings were fastened so, as to make a convenient Bale if put on Board any Vessel; or where they were to pass by Land.

Land Carriage, they were so fitted as to make two Bales ; or if that was inconvenient, might be divided into four.

BESIDES this, Mr. Perez had two large Cloak Bags to himself, and I one, with a portable Cabinet bought at *Verona* of a *German Chemist* for fifty Ducats. It contained a compleat *Apothecary's Shop*, furnished with *Galenical* and *Chemical Medicines* ; and besides its Conveniency, was of admirable Use in striking the *Turks* and *Arabs* with Wonder, the Doors, Lids, Bottoms, and Pedestals, being all filled with Drawers, Cells, and other Conveniences, which turning out suddenly, and as it were of themselves, by touching Buttons fixed upon Strings, seemed very pleasant and strange, especially to a Beholder unaccustom'd to such Things. All these Matters, together with such Provisions as were necessary in the Passage, we got on board by the Time prescribed.

ON the 9th of *December*, about Seven in the Morning, the Wind blowing fair, the Captain came to hurry us on board ; we chearfully obeyed his Summons ; but the Wind chopping about, he was in some Doubt as to putting out to Sea ; but between three and four it blew fair again,

again, and we sailed with all the Tokens of a prosperous Voyage. The tenth, eleventh and twelfth, the Wind continued fair, but sometimes it blew pretty hard ; the thirteenth we passed the *Scbeirches*. The same Day we saw *Masata*, a Maritime Town in *Sicily*. The fourteenth in the Morning we had the Island *Gozo* in View, and in the Afternoon we entered the Haven of *Malta*, where Mr. *Perez* and I immediately went ashore, and took up our Lodgings at the House of one Mr. *Nicholas a Frenchman*, with whom also our Captain lodged while we staid. It seems he had more Business in this Island than we were aware of ; for the same Evening at Supper he told us, that he believed he should sail in a Fortnight, or perhaps twenty Days, which determined us to visit the Island, and gave me an Opportunity of practising first the Rules I had laid down to myself, as to the Method of my Inquiries during my Travels.

THERE are about the Haven of *Malta* three Cities, of which in the Order we saw them. First, the City of *Valetta*, so called from the Grand Master who so gallantly defended the Island against the

the *Turks*. It was built *Anno Domini* 1566, and stands between the great and little Ports, extremely well fortified, and farther secured by the Vicinity of the Castle of St. *Elino*, which many Engineers have pronounced impregnable, yet I believe its greatest Strength lies in the Valour of the *Knights* who guard it. It is built upon the very Point of Land, with a grand *Piazza* before it, under which is a vast Magazine of all sorts of Commodities. In it the *Knights* are imprisoned for Offences, and in the midst of it is a Tower, from the Top of which there is a fair Prospect of the whole Island.

As to the City itself, it is as regular as the Nature of its Situation on a Rock will allow it. The Streets are not paved, nor is it very necessary ; they are a little uneven, except the two chief Streets, where live the Merchants and most eminent Citizens. There may be in this Place about 2000 Houses, and 10000 Inhabitants, allowing five to a House ; these for the most part are low built, and tho' tolerably convenient, yet not beautiful to the Eye, by Reason of their flat Roofs covered with a neat white Plaister, which render them very convenient in the Sum-

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mer Time, the People sleeping there for the Sake of Coolness, happy in the clear and constant Temperature of their Air, which prevents their suffering by a Custom which in other hot Countries would be extremely fatal. Towards the South West there is a very strong Wall with Bastions, half Moons, and other Out-works, and beyond it about half a quarter of an *English* Mile, another Wall running from Port to Port. Within the Space included within these Walls, the Inhabitants of the Island in case of a Siege, have room to encamp when forced out of the open Country. All the Bastions are hollow, that in case of Necessity they may be blown up; most of them have triple Batteries, and some have four, well mounted, and in good Order.

THEY are in Time of Peace kept in excellent Order, and on some of them there are Convents and Gardens, which are very airy and pleasant. The Cathedral Church of St. *John* is small, but very fine, neither can one figure to one's self a grander Sight than the beholding the *Grand Master* and the *Great Crosses*, with the Knights of the Order at their Devotions. There are in this Cathedral several

several neat Chapels, in adorning of which no Expence hath been spared. The Palace of the *Grand Master* doth not make a great Figure, but is well contrived, and well furnished; there is in it a large Hall finely painted, and an Armoury which deserves to be viewed, there being Arms kept in exact Order, which would accommodate 25000 Men at least, besides the little Armoury, which belongs to the *Grand Master's* Household, and is also very curious.

THE Infirmary stands on an Island, and the great Hospital is a noble Building; to speak the Truth, the very Glory of *Malta*. Here the sick are provided for much better than they could be in their own Houses; there are but two in a Room, which is large and commodious, every Patient having two Beds for Change, and a Closet with a Lock and Key to himself. The sick are served by the Knights in Person, their Diet is prescribed by the Physicians, and brought up in Silver Dishes; such exact Order being observed, and every thing being performed with such Magnificence, as surprises Strangers, and gives them a high Idea of the Charity of this illustrious Order.

THE

THE Prison for the Slaves is a very considerable Place ; it is a fine square Building adorned with a Piazza, and at least 2000 Slaves belonging to the Order lodge therein, sometimes there are three or four thousand ; when these are out at Sea, as they must be when the Gallies of the Order go on any Expedition, then the Slaves of the Inhabitants are permitted to lie here, otherwise they lodge at Home. These People, as at *Leghorn*, have only a small Lock on their Ancles, and are permitted to go at large in the Island, it being almost impracticable for them to make their Escape.

CROSSING the Harbour, you go over another City, called formerly *Il Borgo*, but since the repulsing of the *Turks* in 1565, *Citta Vittoriosa*; it is not very large, built upon a Tongue of Land thrust out into the Sea, at the End of which is the Castle of St. *Angelo*; it may contain about 800 Houses, and between 3 or 4000 Inhabitants ; here are four or five Churches, and the most considerable Place in the City is the *Palace* of the *Inquisitor*. Opposite to the Neck of Land whereon this City stands, there is another Neck juts out, upon which stands

stands a third City or great Town, called *L'Isola*, i. e. The Island, covered by the Castle of St. *Michael*, called since the raising of the Siege by the *Turks*, *La Citta Invitta*, i. e. The unconquered City. It may contain about 1000 Houses, and between 4 or 5000 Inhabitants.

IN the Haven between the Cities last mentioned lye the Ships and Gallies of the Order, and a great many other Vessels shut up with a Chain, so that none can go out without Leave. Higher up in the Island stands *Citta Vecchia*, i. e. The old City, the ancient Capital of the Island; here is a Cathedral dedicated to St. *Peter*; the Bishop hath a Palace here, and the Place is surrounded with very strong Walls, and good Fortifications; tho' the Houses are but very indifferent, and there are but few People of Distinction that live here, tho' the Place is large, and seems to have been formerly much better peopled than at present.

HAVING thus spoken briefly of the Cities or great Towns in this Island, I return to my own Affairs, and shall then give a summary Account of the Soil, Climate, Inhabitants, Government, Wealth, Trade, &c. of *Malta*, having taken

taken extraordinary Pains to be well informed as to all those Particulars.

A Sicilian Physician, whose Name was *Sprotti*, and who was very intimate with my Landlord, undertook to shew me the *Curiosities* of the Island, which he accordingly performed. We rode on Asses, which carried us perfectly well, especially for the first Hour or two ; for at length the poor Creatures are apt to tire. We saw the several *Houses of Pleasure* which the *Grand Master* hath in *Malta*, the Grotto of St. *Paul*, the petrified Serpent's Heads and Teeth, the Salt-Pits, and other Curiosities, of which I shall speak hereafter. This Physician, tho' a *Sicilian* by Birth, and educated at *Rome*, had spent the far greater part of his Life in *Malta*, for he was upwards of fifty, and had resided thirty-five Years in *la Valetta*. He had taken abundance of Pains in collecting whatever had been publish'd relating either to the Place, or to the Order of St. *John*; so that if I had remained there three or four Months, I might have known all that could well be known in relation to either. His two great *Heroes* were the *Grand Masters Valette* and *Vigna-*

*Vignacourt*, of whom he spoke continually in Raptures.

THE first of these, *John de la Valette Parïsot*, was a French Gentleman of a good Family, he was Knight of the Language of Provence. He was a Man who, if I may be allowed the Expression, had the Signature of a Hero; he had a Majesty in his Presence which raised him above Envy, a Felicity in his Conduct which afforded Malice itself no Opportunity of speaking, a Candor in his Behaviour, which made him beloved by his very Enemies, Courage invincible, and yet so modest, that it never affected his Words, or hindered him from listening to his Prudence where a Shew of Courage would have been fatal. With these great Qualities, and the Happiness of exerting them to Advantage, in the Space of two Years Time he passed through all the Dignities of the Order, and on the 21st of August 1557, was chosen Grand-Master with universal Applause.

In the eight first Years of his Government, the Gallies of the Order made such terrible Depredations on the Turks, that *Solyman II.* resolved at last to rid

himself of such terrible Enemies at all Events. With this View he sent *Piali* Bashaw in the Month of *May* 1565, with a Fleet of eleven *Sultanases* to convoy a Land Army embarked on a hundred and fifty large Transports, which was to be commanded by *Mustapha* Bashaw, who had Orders not to stir from the Siege till he had reduced the Place. The Army debarqued on the 20th of *May*, not without considerable Loss, the *Maltese* Horse behaved extremely well, and a Troop of *Sicilian* Banditti, consisting of 300 Men who had transported themselves thither, performed Wonders, and distinguished themselves by their Fidelity and Regularity during the whole Siege. The *Grand-Master* shew'd his great Wisdom, by his abandoning all the Posts of small Importance, and withdrawing his Troops into those where they might be useful. The Castle of St. *Elmo* was taken the 23d *June*, after having sustained five Assaults, in which the *Turks* lost as many thousand Men. The *Grand-Master* then flighted the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and withdrew his Forces into the *Burgh* and the *Isle*.

THE

THE *Turks* next attack'd the Castle of St. *Michael* with incredible Fury, but being repulsed, they bent all their Force against the *Burgh*, where the *Grand-Master* was in Person ; and having made several Breaches, gave a general Assault on the 21st of *August* ; where, after a gallant Defence, they entered the Place, and fixed seven *Horse Tails* on the inner Gate. Then it was that the *Grand-Master* put himself at the Head of the *Corps de Reserve* of Knights, to whom with a very loud Voice, tho' at other Times he spoke very low, he said, *I shall not put you in Mind that you are Gentlemen, and the Flower of European Knights, I tell you only that you are Christians, and that Death is a Thing you ought rather to hope than to fear ; come then my Brethren, let us die together in the Cause of CHRIST, like Men who have no Trust but in him.* This said, he fell upon the *Turks* with his handful of Men, and while this unequal Engagement lasted, all the People in *Malta*, Men, Women, and Children, ran at once to the Breach with Weapons in their Hands, and drove the *Turks* from their Lodgments with prodigious Slaughter.

YET this would not have saved the Place, the *Grand-Master* having now a Town in Ruins, and not above 6000 effective Men, whereas the *Turkish* Army consisted still of between 70 or 80,000 Men, had not on the 7th of September Don *Garcias de Toledo* appeared before *Malta* with his Fleet, and having waited till the Succours he debarqued were safely arrived in the old City, he hoisted Sail for *Messina*, leaving a Message behind him, that as surely as he had visited the *Christians* now, in fourteen Days he would visit the *Turks*. But they saved him the Trouble, for *Mustapha Bashaw*, having on the 13th of the same Month made a general Discharge of his *Artillery* in the Morning, embarked all his Troops at Midnight, and set Fire to his Camp, after having lost between 20 and 30,000 of his best Troops. After the Siege was raised, the *Grand-Master* immediately resolved to build a new City on the Point of Land which ran out into the middle of the Sea; accordingly on the 28th of March 1566, he laid the first Stone in Person, over a number of Gold, Silver, and Copper Medals, whereon was his own Bust with an Inscription to this Effect;

Effect ; *He bath founded it on a Rock*, the People shouting all the while, *Long live the great VALETTE.*

ALL the *Christian* Princes in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, promised to contribute largely towards defraying the Expence of this Undertaking ; but the Money coining in slowly, and the Wages of the Workmen amounting to 2000 Crowns a Day, the *Grand-Master* coined small Copper Pieces with this Inscription, *Non Æs sed Fides*, i. e. *Not Coin but Faith* ; and upon giving his Honour that they should be exchanged for Crowns, carried the Affair through with the same Expedition with which it was begun.

THE Pope, to shew his high Esteem for so deserving a Person, offered the *Grand-Master* a Cardinal's Hat, who modestly refused it, saying, *Ecclesiastical Honours suited not a Man whose Hands were stained with Blood*. Two Years after, viz. in 1568, on the 21st of *August*, the Day on which he was chosen *Grand-Master*, *La Valette* yeilded up the Ghost, behaving in his last Sicknes with such exemplary Devotion, that if he had not before acquired the Cha-

racter of the greatest Soldier, he would certainly have been esteem'd from thence, the greatest Pattern of Piety of the Age in which he lived. He was succeeded by *Pietro de Monte* an Italian, who on the 18th of *March* 1571, entered the City of *Valetta* at the Head of his Knights, and established there the *Residence* of the *Order*.

*ALOPHIUS de Vignacour*, Chief of the Language of *France*, was elected *Grand-Master* of the Order of *Malta* in *February* 1601. During his Reign, the *Turks* had frequently a Desire of invading this Island ; but the *Grand-Master* being a Man of much *Complaisance*, would not give them the Trouble of coming so far to prove the *Courage* of his Knights, for equipping larger Squadrions than usual, he took now one Place in the *Morea*, then another in the *Archipelago* ; the next Year he invaded *Barbary*, and by and by threatened *Egypt*, making an infinite Number of *Turks* Slaves, and drawing immense Treasures into the Coffers of the Order. He did not however suffer them to remain there long, but expended them in fortifying

tifying all the Coasts, and adorning all the inland Part of the *Island*.

HE it was who released the Inhabitants of *la Valetta* from the Slavery of preserving Rain Water, which was all they had for Use, by building an Aqueduct which supplies the City with Water, and by an Engine of his Invention is forced near its Fountains into *leathern Troughs*, which being carried over the Rocks, fill without farther Trouble the Water Vessels of Ships which lie in the Harbour. He repaired all the publick Edifices in *Malta*, restored decaying Inscriptions, and having governed with the highest Reputation and Felicity 21 Years, died universally regretted in the Year 1622.

AFTER our Visit to the several remarkable Places in the open Country of *Malta*, Seignior *Sprotti* and I returned to the City, and found there my Friend *Perez*, and the Family not a little embarrassed. Our Man *Antonio* grew enamour'd of a *Fleming's* Daughter, who lived at next Door, which being discovered by her Father, he caused a Billet to be thrown over the Wall into our Landlord's Yard, inviting *Antonio*

in the Name of his Daughter to his House at Midnight, assuring him that the Door should be left open, and a Person wait there to conduct him to his Mistress. *Antonio* was too much a *Cavalier* not to be punctual ; when he came he found the Door and the Servant as he had been promised, saw his Mistress, and was conducted by her into a Bed-chamber, where by some Accident the Light went out ; however he found his Way to Bed in the Dark, but in the Morning opening a Lettice that he might have Light enough to dres himself by, he saw in the Bed an old *Negro*, the most ugly that ever was beheld of the whole Race.

HE flew home with all imaginable Speed, but found the News of his Adventure had out-run him ; whereupon he raised a terrible Out cry, vowing Revenge, and threatening Death to the Man and all his Family. When I came home, however, he became a little quiet-er, and told me at Night, as I was going to Bed, that his Passion was all a Feint, that his Mistress had staid with him all Night, and that the whole was a Contrivance to deceive her Father.

With

With this Story *Antonio* satisfied himself, and talk'd no more of Blood and Slaughter. Happy for him that our next Door Neighbour was not a *Maltese*, if he had, *Antonio* would have been dismiss'd to the other World without the Ceremony of such an Appointment. The rest of the Time I remain'd in the Island, I employed in drawing up the Notes, which serv'd for framing when I had more Leisure, the following Account of *Malta*, as to its ancient and present State.

IT is, I think, universally agreed, that the modern Name of this Island is taken from its ancient Appellation, *viz. Melita*. But whence this Name is derived, is a Dispute not so easily decided ; the most probable Account, however, is, that it comes from *Mel*, *Honey* ; of which there is great Plenty, and that excellent in its kind. The Learned also dispute, whether it is a *European* or an *African* Island ; Custom hath carried it in Favour of the former, but Reason seems to be on the Side of the latter, since the People look like *Africans*, and speak a broken kind of *Arabick*.

As to its Situation, it hath 35 d. and 50 m. North Latitude, and 14 d. of Longitude East from *London*. In the Summer it is extremely hot, as appears from the Complexion of its Inhabitants, though it is affirmed that all the Summer long there are Breezes which render the Mornings and Evenings not only temperate, but pleasant ; but in the Spring and Winter, instead of Breezes, they have very furious Winds, which take their Passage like a hostile Army through the Island, and carry all before them.

THE Soil cannot be styled unfruitful, though it is commonly reported so by Authors, whereas there are some who cry it up as the most fruitful in the World ; the Truth is, the greater Part of *Malta* is a downright Rock, and consequently barren ; but the Ground, where there is any, though it be but a Foot deep, is fertile to Admiration. It bears all sorts of Corn, but especially *Barley*, *Cummin* wild and sweet, *Cotton*, esteemed the finest in the Universe ; also Vines, from whence they have *Raisins*, as large as *Prunes*, both red and white, which bear a great Price ; *Olives*, *Almonds*,

monds, Figs, the finest that can be imagined; Peaches as large as our ordinary Melons, Apricots, Dates, and most European Fruits. Flowers and Herbs every where abound, especially Roses, which in Beauty and Odour surpass those of Europe very much.

To be more particular, the Maltese spare no Pains to remove the natural Imperfections of their Country; they suffer no Dung to remain a Moment in the Streets or Highways, but gather it like Treasure in their Baskets, and immediately carry it to their Gardens or Fields. They import also Earth from Sicily as Ballast, and carry it to such bare Places of the Island as are best seated for receiving Water as well as Sunshine. By these Helps, and the Industry of their Turkish and Moorish Slaves, they raise yearly eighty thousand Measures of Corn, of which half is Barley; fifteen thousand hundred Weight of Cummin, and about fourteen hundred thousand Weight of Cotton, amounting in all to the Value of 760000 Scudi or 152000*l.* Sterling.

As to Animals, they have the same, and the same Plenty as in other Parts of Europe.

*Europe.* Their *Horses*, employed in carrying Burthens, and in drawing Carriages, are unshod; their *Asses* strong, and very fit for riding; to make them the more so, they slit the Side of each Nostril, by which Means the Creature breathes more freely. The *Dogs* and *Cats* of *Malta* are particularly handsome, and for that Reason are much coveted in *Sicily*, and *Italy*. The *Grand-Master* has a good Stable of Horses for the Saddle and Coach, as have also the *Great Crosses*. The Inhabitants of the Island maintain a thousand Horse fit for Service, or any Emergency, and which are review'd twice a Year.

In ancient Times the Inhabitants of *Malta* were famous throughout all *Europe* for their Skill in maritime Affairs, their extensive Commerce, and for their refined Luxury, as appears from one of the Orations of *Cicero* against *Verres*, in which he upbraids him with being as voluptuous as a *Maltese*. *Appian* informs us, that *Cæsar* had much ado to reduce these People when they had revolted; by degrees, however, they grew low and poor. At length they became subject to the *Spaniards*, by whom the Island

Island was transfer'd to the Knights of St. John, tho' an annual Present of a *Falcon* is reserved to the King of *Spain*, as a Recognizance of his Sovereignty. The present People of *Malta* speak a Sort of barbarous *Arabick*, are altogether *Africans* in their Manners, and are without question as luxurious and debauched as any Nation can be. The Women are handsome, well shaped, and for the most part very amorous, though they affect to be excessively religious, which hinders not their Husbands from being outrageously jealous; and this being join'd to their natural Cruelty and Love of Revenge, produces frequently very direful Effects.

As to the Government of the Island, it is entirely in the Hands of the *Grand-Master*, who stiles himself Prince of *Malta* and *Goza*. He is not, however, absolute, but is in most Cases assisted by his Council, in some by a *General Chapter* of the *Knights*. The *Grand-Master* at this Time was *Nicholas Cottoner*, a *Majorcan*, who succeeded his Brother *Raphael Cottoner*, who governed but three Months, and died 1663. He was a Person of low Stature, but a handsome Man,

Man, very affable and courteous to Strangers, who visit him always as soon as conveniently they can after their Arrival. The Knights are distinguished into *thre* Classes. The first, stiled *Knights of Justice*, are obliged to prove their Nobility for four Descents ; they bear a Cross of Gold, with which they are not invested, till they have been abroad *thre* Years. The second are Priests of the Order, who bear also Crosses of *Malta*, but not of Gold, without the Permission of the *Grand-Master*. The third Class are stiled *Servitors*, and these again are divided into *Servitors of Arms* and of *Office* ; and the former take the same Oaths with Knights, and are capable of being admitted to the lesser Dignities of the Order, which the *Servitors of Office* are not. The Knights are also divided into eight Languages or Provinces, each of which hath its *Albergo* or *Inn*, where the Knights eat together in Publick under the Government of one who is stiled chief of the Language. Of these the first is *Provence*, and the last *Germany*. The sixth was *England* ; and there is still a void Space left for the *Albergo* of our Nation, of which

which there is also a Prior, who piques himself much on paying great Civilities to such of the *English* as at any Time come hither.

THE Number of the Knights is uncertain, but there are generally some Thousands, of whom eight or nine Hundred are usually resident in *Malta*, the rest are at their Commanderies with their Relations, or serve aboard the Gallies. Of these seven belong to the Order, each of which is a fine stout Vessel, carries twenty or thirty Knights, and about five hundred Men. Besides these there are thirty or forty Ships fitted out by Licence from the Grand-Master, to cruize upon the *Turks*, which they do with such Effect, that the Order is extremely rich in Money, as well as in Revenues, which are held to be not much less than one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, of which thirty thousand belong to the Grand-Master. It is supposed that twenty thousand fighting Men may be levy'd in the Island, and that there are in it not less than sixty thousand Souls. For the Maintenance of these three Fourths of  
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the Provision comes from *Sicily*, which yet come plentifully to Market, and at moderate Prices. I will now speak of the Curiosities of the Island, natural and artificial, and so leave it

OF the first we may reckon the *Scorpions*, and as some say, the *Speckled Snakes*, which are now and then found in this Island, perfectly harmless, and free from Venom. Nay, it is said that the native *Maltese* are invulnerable from from these Sort of Creatures where-ever they go.

ABOUT ten Miles from *Valetta* is the *Cala di Santa Paolo*, or the Grotto of St. *Paul*, near the Place where he is supposed to have landed ; though some will have it that he was never here, but that the Island on which he was ship-wreck'd is that call'd *Melita*, in the Gulph of *Ragusa* ; but this Notion is rather singular than probable. In the Neighbourhood of this Place they pretend to shew Serpents turned into Stone, as also petrify'd Eyes, Teeth, and Eggs, of Serpents, which are believed to have a great Efficacy in curing the Bites of these Sort of Creatures, and are therefore exported in great Quantities. There is also a Spring

Spring of very sweet Water, which is said to have risen miraculously at the Command of St. *Paul*, for whom the *Maltese* in general have an extraordinary Devotion. From these natural Curiosities let us proceed to those of Art ; and amongst these I know none that deserve Consideration more than the Pleasure-Houses of the Grand-Master, of which he has several.

*BOSCHETTO*, or *Monteverdala*, is the most admired. It stands two Miles from the old City, and is without question one of the finest Places that can be imagined, that is, all things considered ; for though this Pleasure-house and its Gardens would make a very fine Shew in *Italy*, or in *France*, yet what is admirable, what amazes and ravishes the Spectator is, to find it and them in *Malta*. On this Account I call them Curiosities of Art, because they not only borrow little or nothing from Nature, but are on the other hand made in Spight of her ; so that whereas elsewhere she appears like a Queen and a Mistress, here she acts like an obedient Servant, or rather like a Slave, forced hither against her will.

THE

THE Case, not to deal longer in general Descriptions, is this, the Place Cardinal *Verdala*, who was once Grand-Master of the Order, chose for his Pleasure-house, was a Rock absolutely barren, and alike exposed to the Sun and to the Winds ; so that except its lofty Situation, it had nothing to recommend it ; and in the Eyes of any but Cardinal *Verdala*, this would have passed for an extraordinary Inconvenience, considering the Heats of *Malta*. But he was a Man of exalted Understanding, and had such Ideas of Magnificence, that, by endeavouring to do it Honour, he had like to have ruin'd the Order. In the first place, he hewed his Palace out of the Rock, a square Building with four Towers, having in the Middle a grand *Salon*, finely painted with the Stories of this Cardinal's Life. From the House, towards the Sea, he caused the Rock to be cut down, so as to have a Descent from his House through a Range of fine Pillars to that Part which overlooks the Sea, and affords a Prospect of the neighbouring Island and *Sicily*. All this being perform'd, he had the hollow part of the Rock filled up with fine Mould, brought

brought thither in Ships and Barks ; the Skirts of the Garden he planted with Olives, adorned all its Walks with Orange, Lemon and Citron Trees ; of Flowers and sweet-smelling Herbs there never was so great a Quantity any where amassed ; but what gives an inexpressible Air of Paradisaical Beauty to this Place, is the Disposition of the Vines, which being planted at the Feet of the Pillars, turn round them ; and being platted at the Top, form a covered Arbour of a Mile, opening, as I have observed, upon the Sea. In this Garden there is not only very fine fresh Water, but it is also put to all the Uses of Fountains and Cascades that could be devised by the teeming Imagination of a luxurious Cardinal. All the Apartments of the Castle are disposed Terras-wise for the Enjoyment of the Garden ; and that this Pleasure-house may be distinguish'd from all other Pleasure-houses, its Battlements are surmounted by sixteen Pieces of Brass Cannon, over which, on any Solemnity, flies the Banner of *Malta*. There are in the Island many other beautiful Pleasure-houses, but none comparable

rable to this, with the Description of which I will take Leave of the Place.

THE Island of *Gozza*, which belongs also to the *Grand-Master*, is divided from *Malta* by a narrow Channel of the Sea; it is of an oval Form, about three Miles long, somewhat more than half as broad, and about twenty-one in Circuit. Its Coasts are so steep, that one may look upon it as fortified by Nature. In respect to its Air, its Soil, and its Products, it very much exceeds *Malta*, it being every where wholesome, pleasant, and fertile. The Number of the Inhabitants may be about five or six thousand, but they live dispersed thro' the Island, and not in *Casals* or Villages, as they do in *Malta*. The *Grand-Master* bears the Title of Prince of *Gozza*, and its Commodities, notwithstanding its small Extent, yield annually about a third Part as much as those of *Malta*. There are also on the Coasts of this Island, as well as *Malta*, some Rocks and little Places under the Jurisdiction of the *Grand-Master*; but as they produce little, they are not worth mentioning.

THE last Day of the old Year we sailed from *Malta* with a fair Wind; the next Day,

Day, and the Day following, we had the Wind still fair, but a little fresher; on the third it blew very hard, especially towards the Evening. On the fourth we had a Sight of *Candia*, and 'till Noon we had fine Weather, from thence, till Midnight, the Wind gathered Strength every Moment. In the Morning we had a terrible Storm, attended with what the *English* Seamen, who use the *Levant* Trade, call *Bastard-Spouts*. These are occasioned by the Air's drawing up into a Cloud a great Quantity of Water as it were with a Pump, which being carried a considerable Way in the Shape of long Tails hanging down from the Heavens, at length discharge all their Water either into the Sea, or into a Vessel, if it is so unfortunate as to come in the Way. These are called *Bastard-Spouts*, to distinguish them from the true ones, called simply *Spouts*, which are infinitely more terrible. These appear like Pillars descending from Heaven, and in proportion as they drop towards the Water, the Water boils up to meet them. At length these Spouts dip as it were into the boiling Water, and having filled themselves therewith, pass along sometimes

sometimes with a very brisk, at other times with an interrupted or languid Motion. It is said that Ships of great Burthen have been extremely damaged by these Spouts, and it is conjectured that many smaller Ships have perished by them. The lesser Sort, which we saw, happen usually after Storms, but these larger Spouts are most frequent in stark Calms. On the fifth, the Weather grew fine again; but on the sixth we had very bad Weather, with much Rain and Hail. The next Day, by Noon, all was fair again; and it being the Birth-Day of our Captain, he gave a handsome Entertainment to all on board. The Passengers dined as usual at his own Table, and their Servants with the Seamen and Under-Officers. Our Feast began about Evening, and lasted 'till Morning. We had very good Provisions, and excellent Wine of several Sorts. But what diverted me most, was the Conversation at Table, which was so much the more agreeable, on account of its being instructive, every body taking Pains to furnish something worth hearing; and being as they were Men of different Professions, and who had

had spent their Days in an active kind of Life, their Discoveries were above the ordinary Level, and deserved not only Attention, but Preservation. The Captain particularly entertained us, but not till he was thoroughly opened with Wine, with a very singular Story, which he had from the very Mouth of the Man whom it concerned : It pleased me so well, that I committed it to Writing, as a wonderful Instance of the Divine Providence in ordering the Affairs of Men, and as a noble Encouragement to preserve our Spirits, and the Use of our Reason, in the midst of the greatest Dangers ; out of which, if we trust in God, and use the Means he has given us, we may frequently escape, notwithstanding the strongest Appearances of inevitable Ruin.

IT is, said the Captain, about 30 Years ago, that being in Company at *Rotterdam* with several Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Pilots, at an annual Feast, my Companions were very urgent on an old Man, whose Name as I remember was *William Bontiko*, to relate to them his Sufferings in the *Indies*, which they had all heard much of from others,  
and

and concerning which they were very desirous to have a distinct Recital from his own Mouth. The old Man was easily intreated, and when he perceiv'd the Company silently attending the Detail of his Adventures, he delivered himself very gravely to this Purpose. In the Month of *November 1619*, I sailed in Quality of a Master on board a Vessel of 1200 Tuns, bound for the Streights of *Sunda*. On the 19th of that Month, when we were in the Height of five Degrees and a half, and thought ourselves near those Streights, by some Accident or other our Powder took Fire, and blew up myself and 119 Persons, those who escaped this Disaster betaking themselves to the Yawl and the Skiff. I was very sensible as I rose in the Air of my Misfortune, and cry'd out aloud, *This, Lord, is my Road, bave Mercy on my Soul, and receive me into Heaven.* When I fell it was in the midst of the broken Pieces of our Ship, which in a few Minutes was torn to Shatters. The Water reviv'd me, and finding myself between the great and the mizen Masts, I with much ado got upon the former. When I had settled myself thereon, I looked about me,

me, and I perceived at a small Distance a young Man of my Acquaintance sitting upon a Plank ; I immediately called to him and desired him to come as near to me as he could, for that I was so wounded that I was incapable of making any Effort to come to him. The young Man did so, and with very much ado I got upon the same Plank,

By this Time those in the Yawl and Skiff perceived us, and immediately rowed towards us, not daring however to approach too near, lest they should suffer by the floating Wreck. My Companion slipping off the Plank easily swam on board, but as for me I was forced to cry out, that my Wounds had disabled me from swimming, and that if they had a Mind to save me, they must come nearer. Upon which a *Musician*, my old Acquaintance, laid hold of a Rope, and jumping at once into the Sea, swam to the Plank on which I fate, and having fastened the rope about my middle, dragged me after him to the Yawl, where with some Difficulty they took me in, my Spirits being so far spent, that I was absolutely incapable of helping myself. As soon as I was on board, they laid

me under a little Auning, and did what they could to give me Ease ; I had two dangerous Wounds in my Head, and it was the Opinion of my Companions, as well as of myself, that they were mortal ; however, I did not fail to exert, as I conceived, my last Breath for their Preservation, by recommending it to our Factor, and the rest on board, to keep all Night as near as possible to the Wreck, that when it should be light the next Day, they might be able to get a Compass and some other Instruments on board, as also Provisions, of which they stood in great need.

BUT while I repos'd myself as well as I could, the Factor hoping the next Day to gain the Shore, and either not heeding, or not believing what I had said, commanded the Men to row with all their Might, which accordingly they did, and the Consequence was, that when it grew light, we could not see either Wreck or Land. In this Distress the People cast their Eyes upon me as the only Person capable of advising them. All I could do was to encourage them in general Terms, to exhort them to Constancy, and to beseech them to act unanimously

mously for their common Safety. I then directed that the Number of Persons should be counted, which was accordingly done, and it appeared from thence, that there were 46 in the Yawl, and 26 in the Skiff. Our Provisions, which consisted chiefly in Bread, were very short, and as for Water we had none. I saw it was impossible without Food for us to support much Labour, and therefore I proposed laying aside all our Oars, and trying to make Sails with our Shirts joined together. This Motion was immediately agreed to, and I was thereupon going to pull off my Shirt, but my Companions would not permit me on account of my Wounds and Weakness. They gave me moreover a Watch Coat, and a Fur Cap, which they found in one of the Lockers, and our *Barber* tore a Piece of his Shirt, and having spread thereon some Bread which he had chewed, applied it by Way of Poultice to my Wounds, whereby, or rather by the Providence of God, they were speedily cured.

THE Yawl and Skiff being provided with these poor Sails, we kept as well as we could before the Wind, steering by the Stars, and suffering much from

the Weather, which if it fry'd us in the Day, froze us in the Night ; so that in 24 Hours we felt the utmost Rigour of Summer and Winter. By Chance a Person in the Yawl had a pair of Compasses in his Pocket ; as soon as I was informed of this, I began to think of making Instruments. Accordingly having described a Circle on a Board, I divided a Quadrant pretty exactly into Degrees, by the help of which I made a Cross-Staff, with which we took Observations. I also laid down on the Top of an old Box a sort of a Chart, whereon I described the Isle of *Sumatra*, that of *Java*, and the Streight of *Sunda* between those two Islands, supposing the Shipwreck to have happen'd at about the Distance of ninety Miles from Shore. I likewise kept as good a Reckoning as I could, that in case we made Land we might have some Notice where we were. As for Provision and Water, that was without my Power ; what Bread we had was quickly gone, tho' we husbanded it to the utmost ; Rain Water we saved when it fell, in two empty Barrels, but this Relief we often wanted.

ONCE

ONCE a great Number of *Sea Mews* came on board both our Vessels, where we knock'd them on the Head, pluck'd them, and eat them raw. Another Time when we had tasted nothing a whole Day, a great shoal of flying Fish came cross our Vessels, of which we catch'd a good Number, and eat them too raw. Those in the Skiff having none amongst them who understood Navigation, and being sometimes in Danger of separating from us, desired as the Yawl was large to be taken on board, which Request, after some Intreaty, we granted. After this, absolute Famine staring us in the Face, I had much ado to hinder the Crew from eating the Boys ; and at last Despair carry'd it so far, that the Men absolutely declared, if we saw not Land in three Days Time, they would preserve themselves, by killing and eating those unhappy Youths. In the Afternoon of the last Day it began to rain, and we slackened our Sails in order to fill our Casks.

TOWARDS Evening, as I was at the Helm, I perceived evident Signs of our being near the Shore ; but finding myself so cold, as to be no longer able to

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perform my Office, I put the Rudder into the Hands of an experienced Sailor, and lay down to Rest ; but I had not quitted the Helm an Hour, before I heard him cry aloud, *Courage, my Lads, we are near the Land* ; indeed we were so near, that before it was quite dark, we reached the Shore, and found a convenient Creek, from whence without Difficulty we got ashore. We presently found some Cocoa Trees, and refreshed ourselves with their Nuts and Liquor. For this Relief I blessed God, whom I saw to be the best Pilot, and who by his Mercy delivered the Boys amongst us from that Death they would inevitably have undergone the next Day. When it was light the next Morning, we perceived that we had ran on Ground in an uninhabited Island, which produced nothing fit for Food, excepting only the Cocoa Nuts before-mentioned ; of these we took a sufficient Number into the Boat, and then made all the Sail we could for the *Continent*, which lay over-against this Island.

We sailed along the Coast the greatest Part of the Day, without being able to find any Place where we might attempt to

to land. At last some of the Crew swam on Shore, and having discovered the Mouth of the River, made a Waft to inform us thereof ; and we bearing away according to their Signal, found the Mouth of the River, but choak'd with such a Bar of Sand, as gave but little Hopes of our being able to pass over it, without exposing ourselves to total Destruction. Upon which I thought it convenient to speak to all our Crew after this manner : *My Friends, I will not undertake to run our Vessel over this Bank into the Mouth of the River, without the Consent of you all, and your Promise not to upbraid me let what will happen, since I give you this previous Notice of your Danger.* They all cried aloud, that they were determined to risque this Passage ; and that they would no way make me accountable for complying with their Commands. Then I went to the Helm, having ordered an Oar to be put out on each Side, at the other End of the Vessel, two of our strongest Men being placed at each Oar, to keep the Vessel steady ; this done, we steered for the Bar.

In passing, the first Wave fill'd the Vessel half full of Water, which our

Men emptied as fast as they could with their Hats, and the little Barrels in which we kept our Water. The second Breach of the Water fill'd us as full as we could hold, and overset us on one Side into the Bargain ; upon which I cryed out, *At it my Lads, clear the Vessel of the Water or we are all lost.* They laboured with all their might, and having with much ado got her upright, quickly cleared her of the Water. The third breaking of the Sea happily miss'd our Vessel, and the Water rising suddenly under our Keel, we were speedily over the *Bar*, and presently got all safe ashore, though the Protection of Divine Providence. We found in the Neighbourhood of the Creek a good quantity of *Beans*, a Fire lighted, and some *Tobacco*, which we judged to be left there by some of the Inhabitants. We sat down without Ceremony, and made Use of all we found. Two old Hatchets that were in our Vessel proved of great Use to us now ; with them we cut down Wood enough to supply the Fire, as also to arm ourselves with each a tough Staff, for we were apprehensive that the *Savages* might attack us.

WHETHER

WHETHER our Hurry lessened or increased our Disorder I know not, but at the coming in of Night, we were all terribly sick with the *Beans*, and incapable of taking Rest. In the midst of this Distress, the *Savages* came down to cut our Throats; two Hatchets, a rusty Sword, and the Staves we had cut, were all the Arms we had, the latter we thought fit to stick in the Fire, and when they were thoroughly on Flame at the Top, we drew them out, and marched towards the Enemy, who either terrified with our Appearance, for the Night was prodigious dark, or whether they apprehended that we were better armed, so it was, that they retired into a Wood, and we back to our Fire. The next Day three of the *Savages* advanced out of the Wood, to whom we sent three of our Seamen to treat with them. The first Enquiry they made was as to our Country; our Seamen, who were very well acquainted with the Tongues commonly spoken in the Indies, told them that we were *Hollanders*, and that our Ship blowing up at Sea, we were obliged to put in there for Refreshment. Upon this they said somewhat

of Java, and repeated two or three times the Name of *Hans Coen* our General there; then they enquired what Arms we had, we answered, a good Number of Musquets, and Powder and Ball in abundance.

ON board I put every thing to rights as well as it was possible, that we might hide our Weakness from them as far as we were able. Some Rice and Fowls we bought and paid for, having about 80 Crowns amongst us. The next Day I went with four of our Sailors to the Village with all our Money, to buy Provision for our Voyage. After Dinner we agreed for a Buffalo, but it proved so wild, that we were not able to manage it, for in going back to the Vessel it broke loose; we pursued it till it was Night to no Purpose; the Seamen then begged me to return to our People, resolving to stay themselves, in order to catch the Buffalo in the Morning. With much ado I complied with their Request, and on my Return to the Vessel related our Adventure; our People were mighty uneasy at the Accident, and grew more so when all the next Morning passed

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ed without any News either of the Buffalo, or our Companions.

In the Afternoon however came two *Savages* with another Buffalo; I told them I was positive that was not the Beast I bought the Day before, upon which they readily confessed that it was not, but said, as we bought that, they did not know but we might buy this; we then enquired what was become of our Sailors; they answered, that they had not yet got the Buffalo, but they would come by and by. With this we were forced to be content, being able to get no better, and having agreed with them for the other Buffalo, and paid them for it, we found the Creature so unruly, that we were forced to get our *Butcher* to knock it down with one of the Axes. As soon as the Beast fell, the two *Savages* set up a horrible Cry, upon which instantly 2 or 300 of their Companions issued out of the Wood, where they lay in Ambuscade, and came rushing furiously upon us, discharging as soon as within Reach a whole Shower of Darts, and then attempting to board our Vessel, which with much ado most of us had gained before they reached us.

I CANNOT say we fought courageously, for in Truth we were in such Despair, that we thought of nothing but selling our Lives as dear was we could ; the Men who had the Hatchets did terrible Execution, and our *Baker*, who was a very strong Fellow, dealt his Blows with our rusty Sword so freely, that he twice or thrice clear'd the Vessel of the *Savages*, and thereby saved us from Destruction. All our Efforts however would have been useles, if there had not sprung up a brisk Gale from Shore, which quickly carried us out of the Reach of our Enemies, and gave us Leisure to consider our new Situation. We lost in the Engagement 16 Men, including the four who were left the Night preceding, and who without Doubt had their Throats cut by these barbarous People. We sailed along the Coast, our Stock of Provisions consisting only of eight Fowls and a little Rice, a poor Supply for 56 Persons who were yet left ; however, we divided it equally, and husbanded it as well as we could for several Days.

HUNGER at last forced us once more to think of going ashore, which we accordingly

cordingly did, on a little Island inhabited indeed but thinly, where we found plenty of fresh Water, some wild Fowl, and Fruit ; but what rejoiced us most, was the great plenty of large Canes called *Bamboos*; of these we cut Numbers, and having burnt through their Joints, filled them with Water, for which they were the most excellent Casks that we had seen for a long Time. While our Men were thus employed, I went alone to the Top of a very high Hill, where looking about me, I saw at a Distance blue Mountains. I then remembered that I had heard *William Schouten*, the famous Pilot, say, that in two or three Voyages he had to the *Indies*, he had observed two Mountains of that Colour, over-against the Point of the Island of *Java*. This made me still more attentive ; I remarked that these Mountains were on my right Hand, that we had sailed along the left Coast of *Sumatra*, and that in the middle there appeared a fair opening in the Sea ; upon this I went down, and acquainted our Factor with what I had observed, and with my Reasons for believing that we were at the Mouth of the Streight of *Sunda*. He readily

readily came into my Opinion, where-upon we drew together our People, and having got our Water on board put to Sea.

ABOUT Midnight we saw Fire at a Distance, which we conceived to have been in some Vessel, but it proved to be an Island in the Streight of Sunda. We passed by it, and came in a short Space to another Island. In the Morning I ordered one of the Men to the Mast Head, who had not been there long before he cryed out, *Courage my Lads, I see Ships riding in a Road, and I have counted twenty.* These Words revived us all, and because the Weather was quite calm, we betook us to our Oars, that we might sooner reach the Fleet. It lay before *Bantam*, with which we were then at War, and was commanded by *Frederick Houtman* of *Alckmar*. The General happened to be at this Time in his Gallery, and having viewed our Sail with his Perspective, he was so struck with the Oddity of its Form, that he sent his Shaloup to know what we were. We were quickly known to the Crew of that Vessel, having failed with them out of

of the *Texel*, and kept them Company as far as the Coast of *Spain*.

THE Factor and I therefore went with them on board the Admiral, who received us very kindly, and set us down to Table with him ; but when I saw the Bread, the Meat, the Wine, and the Beer, my Heart was so full, that I burst into Tears, and could not eat at all ; in a few Days however I recovered pretty well, and went with the Factor in a Vessel to *Batavia*, where we gave an Account of all that happened to us to the General of the *Dutch East-India Company*, who provided for us all Things in great Plenty, till our Return to *Holland*. The Company, said the Captain, to whom this Story was told, would have presented the old Man with some Money, but he absolutely refused it, saying his Circumstances did not require it. All the Company heard this Relation with great Attention, and I the rather committed it to Writing, because our Captain assured me, that to the best of his Knowledge it had not yet been printed.

DOCTOR *Salviati a Genoese*, who had been both in the *East* and *West-Indies*,  
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and was a Man of great Wit and Learning, entertained us with many Stories of his Adventures, as likewise did Seignior *Altoviti*, a *Neapolitan*, a most ingenious Man, with whom my Acquaintance took Birth in this Passage, and proved much more pleasant than useful. The 7th the Weather was fair, and our Captain declared to us in the Evening, that he thought himself about fourscore Leagues from *Alexandria*. But tho' there was little Wind, the Sea still ran high; so that we durst use but little Sail, tho' we were desirous enough of getting into Port. The 8th the Wind was fair, and we made a great deal of Way. On the 9th we were in Sight of Land, and about Noon came into the Port of *Alexandria*.

FOR the present Mr. *Perez*, myself, and our Servant *Antonio*, went to lodge with one *Veneroni*, an Acquaintance of our Captain's; thither also came Seignior *Altoviti*, who was our Companion in seeing all the Curiosities in and about this famous City, among which he could find none which deserved Admiration more than himself. He passed with us for a Traveller, whom Curiosity only led

led to visit *Egypt*; but he discoursed on all Subjects with such Fluency, and with such Appearance of Knowledge, that it was not easy to conceive he should make this Voyage with no other View. His peculiar Excellency was in finding out, and suiting himself to every Man's Genius, Temper, and Pleasures; so that he was not only the Companion, but the Bosom Friend of Dr. *Salviati*, Mr. *Perez*, our Captain, myself, and even of *Antonio*, whom he knew how to play off for the Diversion of every body without offending him, which was no light Secret.

He loved Expence, came into all Propositions where Pleasure was in View, and paid for every thing frankly, and like a Man of Quality. He liked Play as a Diversion, and tho' he did not shew any great Skill in it, he was generally successful. Tho' he never proposed high Stakes, yet he would readily make them to gratify a Loser, nor was it till after a very long Acquaintance, and upon a very particular Occasion, that I learned this was his Philosopher's Stone, and the Mine from whence he drew wherewith to subsist. He could not be at this

Time

Time above 50 Years of Age, and yet he was so well known in all Parts of Europe, that he was forced to take this Method for opening a new Vein, as the Miners phrase it.

DR. *Salviati* came hither on the Business of his Profession ; he had been invited by two Brothers, who resided as Factors at *Alexandria*, to come and live with them, in order to take care of their Health. The Doctor was about forty-six, had all the *Italian* Politeness, with a great deal of good Sense, and as much Sincerity as any Man could wish in a Friend. He went immediately to his Patrons, who received him with as much Affection as if he had been their nearest Relation, caused all his Things to be immediately brought to their House, and my great Bale with them at his Request, assigned him a large Apartment, and, in fine, did every thing for him which would have contented the most troublesome Man in the World, whereas of all Men he was the least so. The Doctor had but one Fault, which was, that he liked Play. This brought him to us every Day, though he generally lost his Money, and would have lost it always,

always, if the *Neapolitan* had not had Skill enough to lose now and then to him, at least double as much as he won of him at any single Time.

OUR Affairs went on very happily from the very Moment of our Arrival. Signior *Altoviti*, to make his Court to us, exerted all his Diligence in procuring graved Stones, Medals, and such like Curiosities, which he had Address enough to buy much cheaper than we could, and with which he furnished us at the Price he bought them, supposing us to be Men of Fortune, who collected them for our own Cabinets. The Doctor, who was not very curious this way, having his Head turned entirely to Phy-sick and Chemistry, frequently did us Favours in the same Way. As for *Antonio*, we gave him seven or eight Piasters, and in two or three Days he brought in a large Cargo, amongst which we generally found something of Value. From our first coming hither, I remark'd Mr. *Perez* did not much care for conversing with any of the *Jews*; and indeed where-ever he came he seemed to stand no less in fear of them than of the Inquisition. He never condescended to

to give Reasons on this Head ; but by putting together Things I have heard him say, it appeared to me that the *Jews* allowed of no Latitudinarians amongst them, but thought themselves at Liberty to punish any Man who in the constant Tenor of his Life dis obey'd the Laws of *Moses*. On this Account, whenever I had any Transactions with *Jews*, I took care to keep them at a Distance, which I had all the Opportunity in the World of doing, Mr. *Perez* being a Man above Suspicion, as believing firmly that a Person who called himself his Friend, would never forfeit his Honour so far as to deceive him ; and as I was conscious to myself that I deserved the Trust he repos'd in me, I took my Measures so as to serve our common Interest, without giving him any particular Cause of Displeasure.

THOSE People, I mean the *Jews*, carry on the greatest Part of the Trade of *Egypt*, and therefore all who have any Concerns therein have consequently something to do with them. We were recommended to one whose Name was *Abraham*, through the Means of Mr. *Fetherstone* ; and, on our first Arrival, I  
thought

thought myself extremely happy in having Business to transact with him. He spoke *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* perfectly. He was known to, and had great Interest with not only the *Venetian Consul*, and the *French Vice-Consul*, but also the *Turkish Officers*, Civil and Military; able in his Profession, polite in his Manners, and much better acquainted with Books than any Jew I ever met with who was not a *Rabbi*. With all these Qualifications, he was one of the most cunning, artful Knaves, that ever existed; many suspected him, but few or none durst publish their Suspicions, for he was so subtile in his Contrivances, and had such a mighty Interest, that whoever offended him, seldom escaped some great Mishap or other.

FOR my part, the first Affair I had with him, was the Sale of a Parcel of Coral which had been sorted by Mr. *Fetherstone*, and was not only excellent in its kind, but also very neatly wrought. He was so pleased with the Samples I shew'd him, that he readily undertook to dispose of all that we had, which was somewhat more than two Quintals; this accordingly he performed much to my

my Satisfaction, for he sold it for a thousand Piasters, whereas the *Venetian Merchants*, with whom Dr. *Salviati* lived, assured me that the Coral would not fetch above eight hundred and fifty. Before we came to make up the Accompt, my *Jew* shewed me abundance of Curiosities, some truly antique, but the greater part of them evidently Counterfeits; those which were of any Value, he set much too high a Price on; and when I refused to take them, seemed to be a little displeased; however, he shewed me afterwards some colour'd Stones, such as *Chrysolites* and *Amethists*, and at last some *Emeralds*, of which there are in *Egypt* some of great Value. Amongst these there were two, which if absolutely perfect would have been valuable; as they were, he asked three hundred Piasters for the one, and two hundred for the other; I offer'd him two hundred and fifty for the largest; to which, with some Difficulty, he agreed.

WHEN I brought the Stone home, I shewed it to Mr. *Perez*, and asked him what he thought of it; he said, it might possibly be sold for one hundred and fifty Piasters, but that he would not give so much

much for it ; upon which I told him that I bought it for myself, in order to send it, into *England* for a Present. I am sorry for it, said Mr. Perez, we must sell Stones as we find them, foul or clean ; but when we make Presents they should be absolutely perfect ; at which I smiled, telling him it was a *Spanish Nicety* ; but that there were many People who loved large Stones, rather than small ones of greater Value. My real Design in buying this Emerald was to try the Secret I had of freeing it from its Imperfection, but, at the same time, I found the *Jew* had imposed upon me near half in half ; notwithstanding which, and my allowing him a Half *per Centum* more than usual in the Sale of the Coral, he was so displeased at our not putting all Things into his Hands, that he could not forbear doing us privately ill Turns which we had no way deserved, and which *Antonio* would have revenged in his own way if it had not prevented him.

DURING our Stay in this City, which was longer than we at firit conceived necessary, and which was much shorter than it ought to have been, since no Place

Place was fitter for our Purpose ; I say, during our Stay here, and within three Months after our Arrival, there happened a singular Adventure, which served to give us a great Idea of our own good Fortune, and proved, I think, the principal Motive to our taking abundance of needless Trouble in hopes of meeting with still better Luck, of which there would have been much more Probability if we had never left *Alexandria* at all.

THE Adventure was this : When I had occasion to go abroad, I hired always the Ass of an old *Arab*, or, as they are call'd there, *Bedouin*, who spoke a sort of *Lingua franca*, and with whom I could, though not without some Difficulty, converse. This Man, on account of my giving him now and then somewhat more than the Hire of his Beast came to, which was in Truth very little, began to have a great liking to me, the rather, I believe, because of my being more reserv'd and grave then the *Franks*, as they call the *Europeans*, usually are. It so happened one Day, that this poor Fellow having got Cold, complained much of a Pain in his Stomach ; with some

some Difficulty I got him to take a little of a Cordial in which Rhubarb had been also infused, which presently relieved him. When we came home, he told me that he would the next Day bring me some of the *Franks* Treasure, by which he meant Medals, and other Curiosities, which Travellers usually enquire for in *Egypt*. Accordingly the next Day he came and brought tied up in a coarse Cloth, as many Things as would have filled a Man's Hat : I did not examine them very carefully, because at first Sight I perceived they were genuine and curious, but asked him what he would have for them ; he asked twenty Piasters, which in his Judgment was a vast Sum. I gave him twelve, and he went away not only satisfied, but over-joy'd.

THESE poor People live in the Vaults and Caverns among the Ruins of the ancient City of *Alexandria*. In these Places they have great Opportunities of finding Medals, Stones, Idols of green Earth, and other Curiosities. It seems a little before our Arrival there had been a very great Storm, accompanied with Rain, which washed down the Things the *Arab* told me, with many more, into his Vault or Cellar, where he treasured

them up till he had an Opportunity of  
felling them

MR. Perez, when he saw these Things,  
and consider'd them, looked upon this  
as a singular good Omen, and indeed  
there were two Medals of *Lysimachus* in  
Silver, and one in Brass of *Cleopatra*,  
which were valuable ; neither was there  
any thing false, or which could be said  
to be of little Value. There were like-  
wise three Tablets of Cornelian, harder,  
and of a much deeper Colour than is  
usual, which seem'd to have been pre-  
pared for engraving ; but by some Acci-  
dent, were left plain, and were the finest  
I ever saw. We sent these, and a  
great many other Things, to Mr. Fether-  
stone, from whom we receiv'd Advice  
that by proper Asortments, and sending  
them to different Places, our Collections  
would in all Likelihood produce very  
considerable Advantages.

By this time our *Neapolitan* began to  
discern somewhat of our Busines, and  
therefore press'd Mr. Perez to go to  
*Cairo*. It was indeed high time for him  
to begone, since he had already staid  
longer than seemed consistent with the  
Account he gave of himself, and of his  
Business ; but as for us, there seemed to be  
no great Cause for our removing, nor had

I any Idea of it 'till Mr Perez mentioned it, and assured me that we should find our Account therein. But after all, the *Neapolitan* was forced to depart without us, having won a large Sum of Money of a *Jew*, who did not bear his Loss with that Patience which our Friend expected. The Cause of our longer Stay was my falling ill of an Ague, which proved very troublesome, for I relapsed twice. To facilitate my Recovery, Dr. *Salviati*, with the Consent of his Patrons, gave me a share in his Apartment at their House. Here having the Opportunity of a small Furnace, I made an Experiment of the Emerald my *Jew* had sold me, but it did not succeed so happily as I expected, though it improved the Stone very much. *Two or three* large *Topazes*, which were very foul, and as it were muddy, I tried in the same Manner, and succeeded therein beyond my Expectation, for they beame perfectly clear and well-colour'd. Some Experiments also I made on *Ametbiefts* and *Chrysolites*, but to no Purpose at all. When I was perfectly recovered, I consented, at the request of my Friend *Perez*, though against my own Opinion, to go to *Rosetta*, and thence to *Cairo*.

THE Time we staid at *Alexandria*, including the best Season of the Year, I had before me all the Opportunities I could desire of informing myself concerning the ancient and present State of that most famous City ; neither did I let them slip, but as far as in my Power lay improved what I heard, what I saw, what I read, and what from the Comparison of these I was able to conjecture, to the best Advantage. Hence I often amused myself with framing Ideas of the different Situation Things have been in, in this Part of the World, and of the Power, Grandeur, and Riches, of the several Potentates who have ruled in *Egypt*, or made it a Part of their Dominion. On mature Deliberation, I am persuaded myself, and I think I could prove it to any reasonable Person, that the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, before the Times of *Alexander*, were by far the most considerable Princes that ever swayed here. At first Sight it will seem odd to deduce this from the Consideration of *Alexandria*, a City built after the Extinction of their Government, yet have I certainly Reason on my Side, since if the ancient *Egyptian* Princes had not taken care to confer on this Country those Benefits which Nature had denied it, it would have been so far from afford-

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ing a Situation proper for the Metropolis of a great Kingdom, that there could not have been so much as a Village, no not a House here, or any where hereabouts.

THE Maps we commonly have of *Egypt* are so erroneous, that it is really a difficult Thing to have a just Comprehension of what Travellers say of that Country ; and I have been sometimes not a little surpriz'd to see Charts inserted in Books directly contrary, as to the Situation of Places, to what was said in them. The City I am speaking of lies without the *Delta*, towards the *Lybian* Desarts. The Soil about it was naturally as sandy and barren, as unfit for Cultivation, and as absolutely void of Water, as can be imagined. To remedy these Evils, and to turn this Wilderness into a habitable Country, the ancient Kings of *Egypt* devised Methods of supplying it with Water; and as a very great Quantity was necessary, they caused a large and deep Lake to be funk within a few Miles of the Sea, to be a proper Receptacle for the furnishing the Canals they had designed with Water, at such Times as they could not be drawn directly from the *Nile*. This Lake still remains a Monument of their Wisdom and Power,

and

and is called *Mareotis*. It was fill'd by the Waters derived to it from two grand Canals, the one drawn from the Lake *Moeris* in the Upper, and the other discharging the Waters collected in the Lower *Egypt*. From the Lake *Mareotis* again there was a Canal to the Sea, and several other Cuts for the Convenience of Agriculture and Navigation. Thus the Country became inhabitable, by Degrees was filled with Villages, and lying conveniently for Trade, especially with the *Greeks*, served to circulate the Commodities of the Higher *Egypt*, and perhaps of *Ethiopia*, and to return in their stead the Manufactures and Wealth of *Europe*.

IT was in this State that *Alexander the Great* found it, and very wisely contrived to build a new City here to be the Seat of the *Grecian* Governors, and a kind of Check upon the rest of *Egypt*. Whoever is well acquainted with this History, will perceive that he purchased no part of his great Dominions at so easy a Rate as he did *Egypt*. The true Reason of which was, that the *Egyptians* naturally inclin'd to rid themselves of the *Perſian* Yoke, and to submit themselves rather to him than to any body else. Their old Masters had always treated them with great Severity,

rity, and were besides open Enemies to their Superstition. The Greeks, on the other hand, were their old Friends, and little less superstitious than themselves. However, as *Alexander* thought of keeping as well as getting, he saw clearly that the *Egyptians* were not to be depended upon, and that it would be an indiscreet risquing of his *veteran* Troops to leave a small Number of them encamped in the open Country scatter'd up and down in Garrisons, or in any great inland City, where, in case of Rebellion, they might be presently block'd up, and easily famish'd before they could receive any Succours. There was nothing therefore either of Pride or of Vanity in *Alexander's* building this City, but it was purely a Work of Policy, which he executed with as much Spirit, as he projected it with Sagacity. I know very well that there are some Discordancess in the Accounts given us of this Transaction by the Ancients ; but he who will exercise his Understanding, and attend rather to the Reason of Things than to the Niceties of Expression, and those Ornaments which Historians usually endeavour'd after, such as Prodigies and miraculous Accidents, will find this Account probable enough.

THIS

THIS CITY, as laid out by *Dinocrates*, at the Command of *Alexander*, stretched from the Lake *Marcotis* to the Sea, thereby affording all imaginable Conveniency for corresponding with the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, at the same time that effectual Provision was made for establishing a strong Garrison, and a numerous and flourishing Colony, open in respect to *Greece*, from whence at Times it could receive Succours sufficient not only to preserve itself, but to secure the Dominion of the *Greeks over Egypt*. As it owed its Foundation to one of the greatest Princes in the World, so from the very Beginning it was adorned with the noblest publick Buildings which the *Greek* Taste for Architecture, then at its greatest Height, and supported by all the Riches of the East, could supply. This great Conqueror, so long as he lived, continued his Care to this Child of his Policy, according to it such Privileges and taking such Pains to furnish it with Inhabitants, that as it was built, so it was peopled in so short a Space, that the Account we have of it would be incredible, if we knew not that the whole was carried on by him, who with *thirty-six thousand* Men attempted and atchieved the Conquest of the best Part of the Universe. JA 63

*The End of the First Vol.*

